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Thomas Chalmers on duty  
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DISCOVERIES & SETTLEMENTS

OF THE

E U R O P E A N S,

*IN NORTHERN & WESTERN*

*A F R I C A.*

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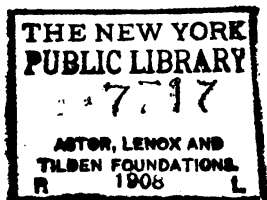
A  
HISTORICAL & PHILOSOPHICAL  
SKETCH  
OF THE  
DISCOVERIES & SETTLEMENTS  
OF  
*THE EUROPEANS*  
IN NORTHERN & WESTERN  
AFRICA,  
AT THE CLOSE OF  
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

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## P R E F A C E .

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**A**FRICA,—in the earliest ages, during the brilliant æras of Egypt, Cyrene, and Carthage, the theatre of splendid and important transactions ; the terror of Europe in the dark ages ; the object of her ambition and avarice, after the discoveries of the Portugueze in the fifteenth century,—has lately acquired additional celebrity by attracting the attention of the friends of religion and science. The close of the eighteenth century, therefore, forms an æra in its history, when the researches and transactions of Europeans in that country began to be directed by justice, benevolence, and the desire of knowledge, instead of avarice and ambition. In the following sketch, it was the object of the author to exhibit the progress of discoveries at this period in North and West Africa, by combining a delineation of the appearance of the country, an account of its na-

tive productions, a description of the peculiar manners of the African tribes, with a detail of the adventures of the travellers by whom these researches were accomplished. In this plan, he is conscious there are some obvious defects, particularly the want of strict unity of subject, an objection which likewise applies to Raynal's celebrated history of the European settlements in the East and West Indies. In the detail of adventures, the subject admitted of little more than analysis, and perspicuity required some deviations, both in respect of omission and insertion. From this plan were excluded the history of ancient and modern Egypt, the history of ancient and modern Abyssinia, the history of ancient and modern Cyrene and Barbary, the history of the Caffrarian tribes, of the Portuguese and Dutch settlements in Africa, and the history of Madugascar. Benin, the slave, gold, ivory and grain coasts, are either entirely omitted, or described with little minuteness; while a rapid sketch of the Moorish character in Barbary, and of some interior districts of the South and East, is insert-

ed. It appeared however more advisable, to hazard irregularity by its insertion, than to incur the danger of obscurity, by characterizing imperfectly the Moors of the Desart and of the Niger, and by neglecting to connect the geography of the interior with that of the East and South. In the geography, the author has for the most part adhered to the learned and ingenious Rennell, whose speculations on the interior, he apprehends, are rather confirmed than contradicted by Browne, the discoverer of Darfoor. He regrets extremely, that he found it impossible to procure either Hartmann's Edrisi, or the Proceedings of the African Association 1793 ; from the last of which he begs leave to subjoin the following additions, having procured it after the proper sheets were printed off.

Houssa was reported by Shabeni, an Arab merchant who visited London, to be the capital of a powerful empire in the centre of Africa. Its population he asserted to be only equalled by London and Cairo. The government is monarchical, but not unlimited: the ad-

ministration of justice is severe, but directed by written laws ; the rights of property are guarded by hereditary officers, resembling in their functions the Canongoes of Hindustan. The merchants are distinguished for probity : women are admitted into society : the art of writing is common, but the characters are different from either Hebrew or Arabic. In describing their methods of making pottery, the Arab unconsciously gave a representation of the Grecian wheel. The banks of the Niger, between Houssa and Tombuctoo, are more populous than the banks of the Egyptian Nile. From Houssā, the eunuchs of the seraglio, both at Tunis and Marocco, are brought, as the English consuls were informed.

Major Houghton, who had formerly been a captain in the 69th Regiment, and Fort-Major in the island of Goree, under General Rooke in 1779, entered the Gambia on November 10th 1790, and was recognized by the king of Barra, whom he had formerly visited from Goree. He made this chief a present of the va-

line of 20 l. and obtained his protection, so far as his influence extended. Sailing up the Gambia to Jonkakonda, he purchased a horse and five asses to convey his baggage; but, being informed of a plot formed against him by the Negromistresses of the traders, who imagined that his expedition threatened the ruin of their commerce, deserting the customary route, he made his horse and asses swim across the Gambia, and traversed its southern bank to Cantor, where he re-passed the river and entered Woolli. The Pagans of Woolli are termed *Sonikees*, or *drinkers*, by the Mahometans or Bushreens, from drinking liquors prohibited by the law of Mahomet. Major Houghton had been attacked by a bilious fever soon after his arrival in the Gambia, and, during his residence at Medina, he was wounded in the face and arm by the bursting of a trade gun. A fire, which destroyed the greater part of Medina, consumed various articles of trade which composed part of his travelling fund, and his interpreter carried off his horse and three of his asses. With



his remaining effects and asses, he proceeded along with a native trader, on foot, to the river Falemè in Bondou. He was received with great suspicion by the king of Bondou, by whom he was plundered of his blue coat, and various other commodities. After crossing the Serra Coles, or *River of Gold*, he proceeded to Ferbanna, the capital of Bambouk, where he was hospitably received by the king, and treated with great kindness during a paroxysm of his fever, which rendered him delirious. He proposed to the king of Bambouk to open a trade with the English, for ammunition, &c. with which he had not been for some time supplied by the French; but the negociation was interrupted by the annual presents of mead which are made to the king by his subjects, and which never fail to introduce a scene of riot and intemperance. This mead is made of fermented honey. After his departure from Ferbanna, Major Houghton was supposed to have taken the route of Gadou for Manding. His complexion was so dark that he could hardly be distinguished from the Moors,

and he united the greatest intrepidity of character, with a flow of constitutional good humour, which no accident could subdue.

The acquaintance of the ancients with Nigritia, beyond Cerne or Arguin, was extremely vague and inaccurate, and the information of the moderns is scattered over a wide surface of crude, superficial, inconsistent, and desultory relations. By attempting to collect, condense, and arrange this knowledge, the Author imagines that he has performed an acceptable service to men of literature, taste, and philosophy. The rude tribes of Africa are distinguished by striking and obvious characters from the civilized nations of Europe, but are with much greater difficulty discriminated from each other. By contemplating their manners and customs, we may discover the simple and unmixed operation of those principles which, in civilized society, are always combined with extraneous circumstances. Thus the proverb of the Ginges, or Gipsies, a wandering race, may be applied with propriety to the intercourse between

savage and civilized nations : “ How can  
“ a man have knowledge, if he go not in  
“ search of it? The snail rolls himself up  
“ in his shell, and thinks his habitation  
“ the most beautiful in the universe.”  
The adventures of travellers among rude  
tribes, have commonly attracted curiosi-  
ty, more powerfully than any other spe-  
cies of composition. If the matter be  
calmly considered, the exertion of cou-  
rage necessary to an African traveller will  
be found equal to that which is required  
either in the civilized warrior, or in the  
savage exterminator of nations. Passive  
courage, which the traveller requires, is  
a much more uncommon quality than  
that active valour which determines the  
success of the warrior.

However the Author may have failed, in  
the delineation of these manners, or the  
description of these adventures, he is con-  
scious that he has in no respect injured the  
interests of either religion or humanity.

*Edinburgh, Oct. 16. 1799.*

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—	69	— 19	— Rousege	— Roussyc.
—	84	— 8	— Ludaman	— Ludamar.
—	85	— 8	— Mousa	— Houssa.
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—	108	— 11	— Nordonkiold	— Nordenkiold.
—	131	— 20	— Muzzouk	— Mourzouk.
—	132	— 2	— Tanouwah	— Tonouwah.
—	240	— 8	— Mauraunda	— Mauraconda.
—	385	— 15	— Madel	— Malel.
—	401	— 18	— Sekzmara	— Sekmara.

The Reader will observe, that, at page 132, there is an apparent omission of 30 pages, the following pages being numbered 163, 164, &c. to the end of the book, instead of 133, 134, &c.

VIEW  
OF  
THE LATE DISCOVERIES  
IN  
AFRICA.

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CHAP. I.

INSTITUTION OF THE AFRICAN ASSOCIATION—STATE OF  
KNOWLEDGE RESPECTING AFRICA AT THE TIME OF ITS  
INSTITUTION—ACCESSIONS TO THAT KNOWLEDGE BY  
BRUCE, PATTERSON, AND VAILLANT.

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AT the institution of the African Association, on the 9th of June 1788, the geography of Africa extended very little within its coasts; a few positions were ascertained, and a few lines traced upon the margin of the map; while the interior was a *charta rasa*, an extended blank of immense size, where every thing was unsettled and uncertain, affording ample room for the modern geographers to contradict the ancient, and quarrel with one another, like the geologists their brethren, who dispute continually concerning the interior part of the globe, while they have only penetrated to a contemptible depth beneath its surface. On this desert space the geographer, following blindly the

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steps of Edrisi the Nubian, and Leo Africanus, traced the uncertain course of unexplored rivers, and a few names of nations equally unknown. The course of the Niger, the rise and termination, nay, the separate existence of that stream, were equally undetermined. Since De la Brue\* and Moore‡, half a century had elapsed, but the Senegal had not been explored beyond the falls of Felu; nor the Gambia beyond those of Baraconda. The southern extremity of Africa, or the Cape of Good Hope, or Caffraria, had been partly traversed by Dr Sparrman. The regions of Morrocco, Algiers,

\* The Sieur de la Brue, was appointed director of the French Senegal Company in August 1697, and seems to have been a man of considerable abilities, respected both by the Company and the native princes. His extensive reputation, and long residence in Africa, afforded the best opportunities of procuring the most authentic information concerning the government, manners, and customs, of the African tribes. But, except in the journals, negotiations, and descriptions of places, his memoirs have been so adulterated by the intermixture of other relations, and the reflections of Labat, that it is often impossible to ascertain whether a fact rests upon the authority of the ancients or the moderns.

*Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale par J. Baptiste Labat. Paris 1728, 5 vols 8vo.*

‡ Moore's Travels were published at London, in 8vo. 1738. The author went out to James Fort, in 1730, as writer in the service of the Royal African Company. His travels consist of a series of journals, in which ship-news, and the transactions of the day, are promiscuously blended with remarks on places, and observations on manners.

Tunis, and Tripoli, were generally known, and Norden had travelled in Egypt and Nubia. This knowledge was soon after considerably enlarged, by the publication of Patterson's travels in Caffraria, and those of Mr Bruce in Abyssinia. Mr Patterson described the manners and habits of the Caffres with greater accuracy than had been formerly done; while Mr Bruce delineated, upon a much larger scale, and with a still bolder pencil, the customs and manners of the Abyssinians, and the nations with which they are surrounded. In the region of Caffraria, Vaillant has extended his researches far beyond the boundaries which any other traveller had reached, and has introduced to our notice various nations, whose names were hardly known to Europeans. He has described the situation, manners of life, opinions, and habits of society, from familiar and frequent intercourse with the Gheyssiquas, Nimiquas, Korasquas, Kabobiquas, and Houzouanas. All these tribes differ considerably from the Negro race, in complexion, features, and make of body; but resemble them no little in their moral habits and manner of life. Still more indolent than the negro, the native of Caffraria is less advanced in civilization, and derives less enjoyment from the intercourse of social life. His views are more confined, and his powers more languid, than even the Angolese, whom in many respects he resembles; his wants are easily gratified by his flocks and herds,

and his powers are lulled into a listless inactivity, by the uniformity of his occupations, and the sameness of the scene which the African wilds present.

Since the peregrinations of Vaillant, the Hamboonas, another tribe, have been introduced to our notice, by those persons who were dispatched from the Cape of Good Hope, in quest of the surviving crew of the Grosvenor East Indiaman; but their particular manners have not yet been elucidated, though this, it is probable, will soon be attempted by some of the Missionary Societies.

The Houzouanas reside 1000 miles to the north, but the Hamboonas 1400 miles to the west, of the Cape of Good Hope, upon the Mogasie rivers. Their country is remarkably fine, and the climate healthy. It was traversed in the latter part of the year 1790 by Jacob Van Reinan. He relates, that the people differ from the Caffres, are of a yellow complexion, and have much longer hair, which they wear frizzled like a turban. On the river Mogasie, he saw a kral of Christian bastards, sprung from some women who had been cast on the coast by shipwreck, three of whom still remained alive, and related that they had come from Bengal, at so early an age, that they did not know to what European nation they belonged. They have large gardens, planted with Indian corn, sugar canes, plantains, potatoes, and beans, and also some cattle.

At the first meeting of the African Association, on the 9th of June 1788, a committee of its members was appointed by ballot to be invested with the direction of its funds; the management of its correspondence, and the choice of the persons to whom the Geographical Missions should be assigned. Upon the election of this Committee, they proceeded to execute their plan with the utmost ardour, and immediately engaged two gentlemen in the adventure, whose qualifications promised great success.

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## CHAP. II.

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ACCOUNT OF MR LEDYARD'S HISTORY PREVIOUS TO HIS ENGAGEMENT WITH THE ASSOCIATION—HIS VOYAGE TO EGYPT—OBSERVATIONS ON THE EGYPTIANS—INFORMATION CONCERNING AFRICA PROCURED FROM THE CARAVAN TRADERS.

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MR LEDYARD, the first of these geographical missionaries, was of American extraction. Stimulated from his early youth by a violent propensity to explore unknown countries; he had lived several years with the American Indians, and studied their manners and habits; he had sailed round the world with Captain Cook, and had made this voyage in the humble station of corporal of marines, rather than relinquish the adventure. At his return from this expedition he determined to traverse the vast continent of America from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, commencing from the north western coast which Cook had partly explored, and proceeding to the eastern, with which he himself was familiar. Prevented from sailing in a commercial adventure to Nootka sound, he determined to travel over land to Kamschatka; and for this purpose, after crossing the British Channel to Ostend, he proceeded by Denmark and the Sound to Stockholm,

from which he attempted to traverse the Gulf of Bothnia on the ice, but as the middle was not frozen, was obliged to return. Proceeding from Stockholm into the Arctic Circle, he walked round the head of the Gulf, and descended on the eastern side to Petersburg. There his extraordinary appearance, wanting both stockings and shoes, and the means of supplying himself with either, procured him an invitation to dine with the Portuguese ambassador, from whom he obtained a supply of 20 guineas on the credit of Sir Joseph Banks, and by whose interest he was permitted to accompany a detachment of stores to Yakutz, 6000 miles eastward, in Siberia. From Yakutz he proceeded to Oczakow on the coast of the Kamschatkan sea, which he was prevented from crossing by the ice, and obliged to return to his former residence for the winter. At Yakutz, he was seized by two Russian soldiers in the name of the Empress, and in the depth of winter, conveyed in a sledge through the deserts of Northern Tary to the frontiers of the Polish dominions, where he was liberated, with the assurance, that if he returned to Russia he would be hanged. In the most destitute condition, he arrived at Koningsberg, where the credit of Sir Joseph Banks again availed him, and he obtained the sum of five guineas, by means of which he arrived in England. He waited immediately on Sir Joseph Banks, who communicated to him the views of the Afri-

can Association, and pointed out the route in which he wished Africa to be explored. Engaging at once in the adventure, Sir Joseph asked him when he would set out: "To-morrow morning," replied Ledyard, without hesitation. At this interview, Sir Joseph declares that he was struck with the manliness of his person, the breadth of his chest, the openness of his countenance, and the inquietude of his eye. Though scarcely exceeding the middle size, his figure expressed great strength and activity. Despising the accidental distinctions of society, he seemed to regard all men as his equals, and his manners were not disagreeable though unpolished. His uncultivated genius was original and comprehensive, not modelled by rule, but moulded by circumstance. From the native energy of his mind, he was adventurous and curious, and unappalled by dangers; but the strength of his judgment united caution with energy. To a man of his description, formed for dangers and daring, the arduous task of traversing the widest part of the continent of Africa, from east to west, in the supposed latitude of the Niger, was assigned. After obtaining his instructions and letters of recommendation, Ledyard sailed from London on the 30th of June 1788, and arrived in 36 days at Alexandria. Proceeding to Cairo, where he arrived August the 19th, he visited the slave-markets, and conversed with the travelling merchants of the caravans. These

sources of information, generally neglected by travellers, enabled him to obtain, at very small expence, a better idea of the African nations, and of their trade, of the position of places, of the nature of the country, the manner of travelling, &c. than would have been possible by any other method. When he had announced to the Association that his next dispatch would be dated from Sennaar, in consequence of repeated vexation from the caravan delaying its departure, he was seized with a bilious complaint, which, being incautiously treated at first, frustrated the skill of the best physicians of Cairo, and the attention of M. Rossetti, the Venetian consul.

Though the lower Egypt, having been often explored, presented no new field of observation, yet many of Ledyard's remarks cannot fail to impress us strongly with the original power of his genius. Of these remarks the most original and striking are subjoined.

**OF THE EGYPTIANS.** The villages are wretched assemblages of mud huts huddled together, full of dust, lice, fleas, bed-bugs, flies, and all the curses of Moses. The Copts seem the original negro-stock, corresponding to that race in the nose and lip; their hair is curled, not close, like the negroes, but like the mulattos. In Egypt, the colour and features vary more than in any country in the same state of civilization. The mummies



are covered with the same wampum work that is common among the Tartars. Tatowing is as common among the Arabs as among the islanders of the South sea. The women are generally tattooed on the chin with perpendicular lines, descending from the under lip, as is practised by the women on the north-west coast of America. The nails are stained red, as among the Cochin-Chinese and northern Tartars. The Russian and Greek dress resemble each other, and both the Greek and Russian women wear a fillet round the temples. The same machines are used for diversion as in Russia, consisting of a large wheel, in the extremities of which seats are suspended, in which people are whirled over and under each other. Their music consists of a drum and pipe, both of which resemble these instruments in the south seas. Their drum is the Otaheite drum; their pipe is of cane, consisting of a long and short tube joined. Whenever the women are present, they make a noise with their mouths like frogs, particularly at weddings. The Egyptian dogs are of the same species found at Otaheite. Among the Arabs he saw a white woman, like the white Indians in the south Sea islands, and Isthmus of Darien. The Arabs engage with a long spear, like the New Zealanders. Those that inhabit the desert have an invincible attachment to liberty, like the Tartars, a propensity which can neither be

conquered by the arts, nor by any modification of government.

**OF THE CARAVANS.** The Mahometans in Africa are what the Russians are in Siberia, a trading, enterprising, superstitious set of vagabonds ; wherever they are determined to go, they go. As they cannot afford to traverse Africa without trading by the road, they make no voyages merely commercial or merely religious ; and where they are not engaged in commerce, they are not to be found. They pass to Sennaar, Darfur, Wangara, and Abyssinia, while they know little or nothing of geography, as they are able to sing, dance, and traffic without it. They trade to Darfur, for slaves, gum, and elephants teeth. The slaves of this nation are of a good form and size, quite black, with the true Guinea face, and curled short hair. The importation of negro slaves into Egypt, in a year, was estimated by M. Rosetti at 20,000. To Sennaar they carry trinkets, soap, antimony, red linen, razors, scissars, mirrors, beads ; and bring back elephants teeth, gum sennaar, camels, ostrich-feathers, and slaves. In this traffic the king of Sennaar interferes, and not only is concerned in the Sennaar caravans, but keeps an agent at Cairo to procure and contract for him. Among the Sennaar slaves Mr Ledyard saw three personable men, of a bright olive complexion, and intelligent features, whose heads were of a singular structure and uncommon form, ex-

ceedingly narrow, long, and protuberant. The Sennaar caravan is the most rich ; that of Darfur is not equally so, though it trades with almost the same commodities. This, however, can surprise no one, who considers that there are numerous circumstances which influence the internal African trade, besides the extent of the journey and the nature of the commodities. The deserts of burning and moveable sand which are to be traversed ; the pestilential qualities of the suffocating winds that sweep these arid wastes, which look as if the God of nature had forgot to accomplish the work he had begun, the moral habits and social state of the savage tribes that prowl with the wild beasts over the desert, are not only sufficient to deter the adventurous merchant, but even to damp the ardour of religious bigotry.

Wangara, to which the caravans also traded, was represented to Mr Ledyard as a kingdom producing much gold ; but the king seems to have intermiddled in commerce as well as the potentate of Sennar ; for, in order to deceive strangers, and prevent them from guessing at the extent of his riches, he was reported to vary continually the gold used in barter, which it was his province to regulate, and of which he issued at one time a great quantity, and others little or none. A caravan goes from Cairo to Fezzan, which is termed a journey of 50 days ; and from Fezzan to Tombuctoo, which is called a journey of 90 days.

The caravans travel about 20 miles a-day, which makes the distance to Fezzan about 1000 miles; and from Fezzan to Tombuctoo 1800 miles. From Cairo to Sennaar is reckoned 600 miles.

These are the principal observations made by Mr Ledyard in Egypt: they display the depth and penetration of an understanding formed by action instead of speculative habits, unwarpd by fanciful theories and prejudices of birth, accustomed to the living intercourse of men. They must impress every one with deep regret, that he did not live to attempt the arduous enterprise in which he had engaged. The person who with such scanty funds, could penetrate the frozen regions of Tartary, and subsist among their churlish inhabitants, who could ingratiate himself with the ferocious Moors of Egypt, could hardly have failed of obtaining a kind reception from the gentle and hospitable negro, had no untoward accident intervened. The observations of this accurate observer of man upon the female character, are highly deserving of notice, and do equal credit to the strength of his understanding and the goodness of his heart. "I have always remarked, that women, in all countries, are civil and obliging, tender and humane; that they are ever inclined to be gay and cheerful, timorous, and modest; and that they do not hesitate, like men, to perform a generous action. Not haughty, not arrogant, not supercilious; they are full of courtesy, and fond of society: more liable in

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general to err than man, but in general also more virtuous, and performing more good actions than he. To a woman, whether civilized or savage, I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. With man it has often been otherwise. In wandering over the barren plains of inhospitable Denmark, through honest Sweden, and frozen Lapland, rude and churlish Finland, unprincipled Russia, and the wide-spread regions of the wandering Tartar; if hungry, dry, cold, wet, or sick, the women have ever been friendly to me, and uniformly so: and to add to this virtue, (so worthy the appellation of benevolence), these actions have been performed in so free and so kind a manner, that if I was dry I drank the sweetest draught, and, if hungry, I eat the coarse morsel with a double relish." But though the native benevolence of the female savage might sometimes soften his distress, yet he seems often to have endured the extremities of wretchedness. "I am accustomed to hardships," said he, on the morning of his departure to Africa; "I have known both hunger and nakedness to the utmost extremity of human suffering: I have known what it is to have food given me as charity to a madman; and I have at times been obliged to shelter myself under the miseries of that character, to avoid a heavier calamity: My dis-

tresses have been greater than I have ever owned, or ever will own to any man. Such evils are terrible to bear, but they never yet had power to turn me from my purpose. If I live, I will faithfully perform, in its utmost extent, my engagement to the Society; and if I perish in the attempt, my honour will still be safe, for death cancels all bonds."

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### CHAP. III.

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ACCOUNT OF MR LUCAS—HIS VOYAGE TO TRIPOLI—JOURNEY TO MESURATA WITH THE SHEREEFS FOUWAD AND IMHAMMED—MODE OF OBTAINING INFORMATION FROM THE LATTER, CONCERNING THE INTERIOR REGIONS OF AFRICA—HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND.

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**M**R LUCAS, the next person to whom the exploring the internal regions of Africa was entrusted, had been sent when a boy to Cadiz in Spain, to be educated as a merchant. On his return he was captured by a corsair of Sallee, and carried to the court of Morocco, where he remained three years before he obtained his freedom. After his release, being sent to Gibraltar, he was appointed Vice-consul and Chargé d'affaires to Morocco, where he resided 16 years; and was made

Oriental interpreter to the British court, on his return to England. Upon expressing his desire to undertake, with his Majesty's permission, any journey in the service of the Association, which his knowledge of the manners, customs, and language of the Arabs, might enable him to accomplish, his Majesty not only granted this permission, but continued his salary as Oriental interpreter, during his absence. This gentleman was then appointed to proceed over the desert of Sahara, from Tripoli to Fezzan, a kingdom in some measure dependant on Tripoli, with which the traders of Agadez, Tombuctoo, and other towns of the interior regions, had established a regular intercourse. Whatever intelligence concerning the interior regions he could obtain from the inhabitants of Fezzan, or the traders by whom they were visited, he was to transmit by the way of Tripoli, and afterwards he was to return by the way of Gambia, or the coast of Guinea. These arrangements were settled, and Mr Lucas having embarked at Marseilles on the 18th of October 1788, arrived on the 25th of the same month at Tripoli. Tripoli is built in such a low situation, as to be hardly visible at the distance of a mile; but the date trees which spread like a forest behind the town, whence they emerge to cover the hills which bound the Southern horizon, render the scene very interesting. Though the capital of an empire once very powerful, it exhibits,

through all its extent, the traces of a rapid decay ; for, though it is only four miles in circumference, these limits are too great for its present population. Through the Tripoline Ambassador, who had formerly resided in England, he was introduced to the Bashaw, who eagerly enquired after the object of his journey to Fezzan, which, he said, no Christian had ever attempted. Mr Lucas replied, that it was for the purpose of examining various Roman antiquities, which he had heard existed in numerous parts of that kingdom, and collecting medicinal plants not found in Europe : the Bey appeared to be satisfied with this answer, and promised him his assistance in his journey. Soon after this, Mr Lucas learned, that certain tribes of tributary Arabs had revolted, and ravaged the frontiers of Tripoli ; and that the Bashaw was levying an army to reduce them, as soon as the grass should be high enough to afford sufficient forage for cattle. While Mr Lucas waited, in order to accompany this army, two Shereefs, or descendants from the prophet, arrived from Fezzan with slaves, senna, and other articles of merchandize. As their descent from Mahomet secured their persons from violence, and property from plunder, they did not find it necessary to wait for the restoration of the peace ; but prepared immediately for their return, and offered to take Mr Lucas under their protection. Fouwad, one of these, was about 35 years of age, son-in-law to the king.



the other was an elderly man, named Imhammed. The Bashaw being informed of this proposal, expressed his approbation of it, and presented Mr Lucas with a handsome mule for his journey, while the Bey, his son, presented him with a tent, and gave him a letter of recommendation to the king of Fezzan. But, considering the risk of his being taken by the Arabs, which might oblige him to make a disadvantageous peace, he requested him immediately afterwards to defer his journey, till the Arabs were reduced. The Shereefs were extremely chagrined at this proposition, as well as Mr Lucas, since they had written to the king of Fezzan, that they would soon present to him a Christian, who had travelled a journey of many moons from his native land, for no other purpose, but to gratify his wish of visiting him, and seeing his kingdom of Fezzan; and believed that his anger would be so great at this disappointment, that he would probably inflict upon them the greatest indignity which a Shereef can be made to suffer, the heaping dust upon their heads. The remonstrances of the Shereefs, and the representations of an old man of the class of Maraboos, or distinguished saints, induced the Bashaw to comply with Mr Lucas' request, especially as the rebel Arabs had evacuated that part of the country which he was to traverse in his journey. On the 1st of February 1789, therefore, their little caravan left Tripoli, and proceeded to,

wards Fezzan by the route of Mesurata, which, though not so direct as the ancient passage by the way of Guariano, is yet more safe, as it is not exposed to the impositions of the rapacious tribes, Hooled Ben Soliman, and Benioleed. The heavy merchandize belonging to the Shereefs was sent by sea to Mesurata.

After passing Tajara, a wretched village, composed of clay-walled huts, covered partly with terrace, and partly with thatch; they encamped at night upon a sandy eminence, having piled their loads in a circle, lighted their fires and spread their mats within it. The Shereefs supped in a familiar manner, with Mr Lucas in his tent, on dried meat and balls of flower, dressed in steam, and served up in a large wooden dish. After the ceremony of washing, which every man performed, by dipping his hand into the water used by his companions, they took coffee, smoked and lay down to sleep, in their cloaths, upon the bare sand, without any other covering than their Al-haiquesor blankets, from the heavy dews of night. The second was spent in travelling among hills of loose and barren sands, where neither man nor beast, wood nor water, appeared, but the sand drifted over them with every gale. On the third day, they emerged from the desert of sand hills, into a hard stony soil, where a few fields vegetated in sullen stillness with meagre grain, while the white-thorn and Spanish broom appeared at a dis-

tance, with olive and date trees. On the 4th day, after travelling for some time among rocky hills, variegated with plains of olive and date trees, they reached the ruins of Lebida, a Roman colony, where fragments of a temple, and several triumphal arches still remain, and where the soil of the adjacent district exhibits the most luxuriant vegetation. On the fifth day, as they approached Mesurata, they were alarmed by an account of the depredations of the tribe Hooke Ben Soliman, and soon after fell in with a party of Arabs, whom they imagined to be enemies, and resolved to attack. The Shereef Fouwad, with the horse, led the van, and the foot followed in a confused crowd, like a flock of frightened sheep, dancing, shouting, twirling their muskets over their heads, and jumping round each other like madmen, till they approached within shot of their antagonists, when each man squatted behind a bush, to shelter himself and take the surer aim. But while they were levelling their muskets, they were recognized by the Arabs for friends; and the caravan proceeding, they arrived in the evening at Mesurata. The governor of Mesurata, who had resided for some time in Italy, received Mr Lucas with much politeness, but found it impossible to assist him in prosecuting his journey, as camels could not be hired from the rebel tribes of Arabs. After some attempts to procure these, which were always unsuccessful, the Shereef Fouwad retired to Wadan, his native

town, and the Shereef Imhammed, to his friends among the mountains, to wait till their journey should be practicable; while Mr Lucas returned about the end of March to Tripoli, and proceeded by Malta and Marseilles to England, where he arrived on July the 26th. During the time, however, that he remained at Mesurata, Mr Lucas, suspecting that his journey would be impracticable, employed himself in procuring from the Shereef Imhammed, an account of Fezzan and of the countries beyond it towards the south, which he had visited as a factor in the slave trade. He roused the Shereef's curiosity, by displaying a map of Africa, as a present which he had intended for the king of Fezzan, and requested his assistance to render it more correct. This proposal, which gratified the vanity, as well as the curiosity of the Shereef, was seconded by the promise of a copy for his own use, and Mr Lucas obtained from him all the information he required. The memorandums which he procured in this manner, were read to the governor of Mesurata, who had formerly travelled to Fezzan, and who confirmed the accuracy of the Shereef's relation. But before the arrival of Mr Lucas in England, the committee of the Association had obtained a more decisive test of its value, in a narrative given by Ben Alli, a native of Morocco, of his extensive travels as a merchant, in the countries to the south of the Sahara. For though the Moor's recollection had

been impaired by the lapse of 20 years, and his remarks were those of a superficial observer, rather possessed of activity of mind, than depth of judgment; the general features of his narrative had such a similarity to the account obtained by Mr Lucas, as to confirm the authenticity of the principal circumstances.

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## CH A P. IV.

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### CHARACTER OF THE MOORS OF BARBARY AND BREBERS; OR SHELU.

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AT every period of history, the same character appears to have marked the Moorish nations, and seems to have been always composed of the same quick and volatile, though weak and combustible materials. A considerable part of this character may probably proceed from physical causes; but the spirit of their laws, institutions, customs, and manners, have always retained a certain uniformity of operation on the minds of the people, though they may appear to have varied with the temper of the Carthaginian, Roman, Vandal, and Arabian governments. The Moors have always been quick, fiery, and impatient, treacherous and cruel; always groaning under the yoke of despotism, ex-

erting insane and ferocious efforts for relief, which have never proceeded beyond the avenging of injuries, and which have never procured any amelioration of their condition. As troops, they are still the same fierce, irregular, and desultory light-horse as the Numidians and Mauritanians, in the time of the Romans, capable of powerful sudden attacks, but unfit for great and continued efforts. Among the individuals, little diversity of character prevails, for despotism represses the magnanimous exertions of genius, and destroys the peculiarities of the mind, by rendering only one system of manners safe. Among rude nations, while property is insecure or undivided, the same degree of turpitude is not attached to the same crimes as in civilized states; but there is generally a frankness and sincerity of character which is not found in a declining state, in the same degree of ignorance. Friendship and fidelity are produced by oppression, which at first unites men more firmly for their mutual defence: but when despondence seizes the general mass, the character of man embitters with the pain he endures; every virtue, even humanity itself, is destroyed, and society is as really dissolved as among those tribes who acknowledge no ruler. Thus, among the Moors of Barbary, depressed from their former glory by inveterate oppression, distrust and malevolence have eradicated the natural sense of right and wrong; the opinion of general perfidy prevails; all wish to oppress and plunder, as they have

been oppressed and plundered, and consider detection as the only misfortune. A dismal uncertainty broods over life, which impairs the greatest energy of the mind, and stifles every voluntary exertion. Men dread to give scope to their natural feelings, because they feel nothing but pain; influenced by some obscure hopes of happiness, like their flocks, they are driven along through life, without any fixed intention or object, and, like these, attempt to snatch a little enjoyment as they pass. Thus we may perceive how naturally despotism by the same process produces a ferocity and a voluptuousness of character; how it equally chills the heart and palsies the understanding, causing an apathy as well as an absence of thought, which soon subside in the dejection of meanness, and the debility of vice. But despotism is as weak as it is violent; it never possesses more than half the power which it pretends to exercise; its motions are irregular and convulsive, which exhaust their power by their own violence, and are only useful for destruction; now all is spasmodic energy, now all is inaction and death. In this state of society, it is fortunate that something like religion should prevail to stop the violence of bloody and rapacious tyranny, to disarm private vengeance, and reduce to mortal strength the iron arm of power. The veneration paid to the Marabouts among the Moors, is only useful in this view, for the intolerance and the irrationality

of the Mahometan religion not only checks the progress of truth, but, by sanctioning the seclusion of females, deprives man of his dearest happiness, and supplants the most powerful support of social order, the free and innocent intercourse of the sexes. The apparent imbecility of understanding, which is venerated as a kind of inspiration, destroys in a great measure the utility of the Marabouts, though it increases their licentiousness. The mutual distrust in which the Moors live, increases their natural sagacity in penetrating the designs and characters of each other, as well as the low cunning which they display in all their transactions. But this excessive distrust renders them as capricious as deceitful; for, when suspicion agitates the mind, its resolutions will vary with every change of circumstances, and temporary shifts are substituted readily, in the stead of the best arranged measures.

The plains of Barbary, and the districts which touch upon the mountains, are naturally fertile; but, being of a light and thin soil, have in many places run to sand from the want of water and the want of cultivation. As there is no other species of labour, no fences, manures, fodder, gardens, trees, road, nor houses, those that are employed in agriculture can scratch up a considerable quantity of land with their little trifling plough, which is often not even covered with iron. The rivers are few, and do not improve the country, as almost



no little streams descend from the hills: no verdure springs on their banks; no trees or shrubs mark their course as the light land imbibes the rain. In a fine climate, the earth produces little except what is sown, and its spontaneous productions are dwarfish; even the forest trees of Spain are only shrubs in Barbary. Every thing is feeble and unfinished; the country seems only of late to have emerged from ruin, and to be returning fast to its primitive situation.

The women are jealously confined, and the elegance of their form is diminished with their liberty. They are generally fat and short; and their figure is rendered still more odd and ungraceful by their dress; so that they move along like round shapeless bundles of woollen, with their faces covered with veils, sullied by their breath, and their eyes, which alone are visible, staring as if through a mask. Their domestic employments are weaving, grinding corn, and cookery. By their seclusion from society, the means of introducing the agreeable arts, and the motives for their improvement, are also excluded; and with the progress of the agreeable arts, that of the useful is closely connected. The stupidity of the Moors proceeds from want of thinking, or rather from the want of objects to call forth the energy of their minds. Like children, whose knowledge is extremely imperfect, but who reason very well concerning the knowledge they have acquired, the Moors are suffi-

siently ingenious in objects about which they are conversant, when their curiosity is exerted, or the activity of their mind excited. They can perform great things with very small means of execution, and with the most simple tools execute works where we would require complicated apparatus. By means of wooden frames, they erect extensive buildings of brick and mud, without stone or mortar, and hardly any timber; and they will form a water-mill out of a piece of timber that we would not think sufficient for a stool. Their flocks constitute their riches; and their arts and trades are in a state of perpetual infancy. The plough, the mill, the loom, the lesser tools, and the methods of working, are simple and slow, trifling and imperfect. Their modes of life, their necessities, and their luxuries, are the same as in the days of Mahomet, and perhaps as in those of Abraham. Every idea of change is excluded by the law of Mahomet; every degree of improvement by ignorance of their wants. With the defect of the social principle, there is a want of conversation; they never converse except they be angry, for, under oppression, men are not communicative. Their houses and gardens look like prisons to shut themselves up in; their domestics are slaves, and the wives of their bosoms are no better. Such are the effects of the Moorish governments, where it is a maxim, "that in order  
" to rule the people properly, the stream of blood

"should always flow from the throne;" where dexterity in cutting off heads, is the first of royal accomplishments; and where the kings often cut off the heads of innocent men as they ride along the high-way, to impress their subjects with a proper degree of terror.

Towards the skirts of the mountains, where green hills are mingled with the sandy grounds, the people are more happy, and consequently of better dispositions. They are a different race from the Moors of the plains, and are generally thin, light, active, and of a fair complexion: the inhabitants of the towns and plains are fatter, heavier, and more copper-coloured. Few of the ancient Arabian race seem now to remain unmixed in Africa; but there are different tribes of mountaineers between Morocco and Algiers, and behind the Algerine territories, who are a proud though a pastoral people, more elegant in their manners, and more strict in their morals than the Moors. They are termed Brebers, whence comes Berberia, the ancient name of Barbary. These seem to be the oldest inhabitants of the country, and to have been less mingled with foreigners. They resemble the Mauritanians of the Romans, and some of them are still said to denominate Europeans or strangers by a name that sounds like Roumi. But as this country has been so often colonized from Europe and Asia, it is now impossible to distinguish the indigenous race from the different

exotics, to determine whether the negro, woolly-headed or long-haired be the native inhabitant of Barbary : neither is the lapse of time sufficient to show whether the soil and climate are able to reduce the present varieties again to the negro standard. This, however, is certain, that in Barbary, the supposed inferiority of the negro to the white is imperceptible : nay, the contrary often appears, for many of the best officers, farmers, and artificers in that country, have been of the sable hue. The general African character, comprehending a variety of tempers and powers of mind, predominates in all the different colours.

The Arabs, who pique themselves upon the antiquity of their families, regard the free Negroes as slaves, but they look with equal contempt upon the mixed Moors and Jewish or Christian renegadoes. Those sinister ideas do not prevail in Barbary, which, in many parts of Europe and Asia, are attached to the colour of black. The Turks reckon it ominous, the modern Greeks use the term *Mauros* indifferently for a black, or an unhappy person. An Egyptian, who has committed an error, says he is black with shame ; the Europeans mourn in sable, and array the ministers of religion and justice, who are both supposed to have renounced earthly pleasure, in that colour. The tribes of mountaineers, which have light hair and a fair complexion, have been generally reckoned of Vandalic origin, especially as their legs, hands, arms,

and faces, are marked with crosses of a bright azure colour, which seems to be a remain of their ancient Christianity. But the settlements of these tribes were probably more ancient than the invasion of the Vandals ; for Procopius mentions a race of a different complexion from the Moors, extremely white in the skin, with yellow hair, who inhabited a country beyond the territories of an inland prince, named Citaia. These tribes, who are yellow-haired and of a fair or ruddy complexion, are placed, by Dr Thomas Shaw, on the mountains of Aures, very near the site of those mentioned by Procopius. The mountaineers are denominated Brebers, to distinguish them from the Moors of the flat coast. On the southern frontiers of Morocco they have the appellation of Shellu, and are reckoned better Mahometants than those who are termed Brebers. These last, though they have long professed the Mahometan religion, are rather nominal than real believers, retaining their ancient superstitions, eating swines-flesh and drinking wine, in which they cannot think that there is any harm, as they make it themselves. They speak a language of their own, which is believed to be derived from the ancient Punic : though it has never been much investigated ; their characters however are not peculiar, but arabic. Intermarrying among themselves, their various tribes, Kabeyls, or Cafiles, have preserved, in a high degree, their peculiar characters. Residing among the moun-

tain, almost independent of the Moors, they acquire a strength of body which fits them for war or labour, and an energy of character which appears in their countenance. A ferocious look, eyes full of fire and courage, an aquiline nose, manly features, nervous arms, a tall figure, and a haughty gait, distinguish them from the more wretched inhabitants of the plain. Among these mountaineers, too, the women exhibit greater vigour than among the other tribes; but their situation is far from being respectable, as appears by the homely African phrase by which the women are characterized, "All day a she-ass, and by night a mistress." The ridges of Atlas, which these tribes inhabit, are composed of deep vallies and abrupt hills, whose rocky precipices are intermingled with green declivities, where successive groves of fruit and forest-trees rise in ranges behind each other. The hills are covered with heath, mastic-trees, broom, and holly-oak. The myrtle, barberry, and mezereon, form a thick underwood, with the laurel and the thorn, amidst which rise up the pomegranate and olive-trees, intertwined with wild-roses and the rose-laurel. In winter these hills are partly covered with snow, and partly variegated with the narcissus, the tulip, the ranunculus, and the anemony. In spring, the lower plains exhibit vast fields of yellow lupins, daffodil, and flower de lis. And, in autumn, the large sea-leek appears in great quantities.

In one of the vallies, among these hills, the ~~Ab-~~be Poiret, who traversed these districts in 1785 and 1786, narrowly escaped destruction. Having descended into a deep recess, covered with thick under-wood, to search for plants, he was observed by some of the women, who set fire to the bushes over his head, and obliged him to force his way through the flames.

The most ancient of these tribes are the Musamouda, Zeneta, Zinhaga, Gomera, and Hoara, who deduce their origin from the Homerites of Hamjar, or Arabia Feliz. But there are five tribes now dispersed over the desert, that are acknowledged as the Aboriginal inhabitants of Barbary. These are the Zenaga, Ganzuga, Terga, ~~Lum~~пта, and Berdoa tribes, who are supposed to have formed the excavations which are found in the inland mountains, and to be descended from the Canaanites, who inhabited the Phœnician coast from Sidon to Egypt. The Phœnician origin of Carthage corroborates this opinion, and there is still more explicit evidence of its truth, if we may credit the authority of Procopius. Procopius, in the 6th century, accompanied Belisarius into Africa, and affirms that at Tangier there still existed two columns of white stone near a great fountain, with an inscription to this purpose, "We are Canaanites, who fly from the robber Joshua the son of Nun." After him, Nicephorus Callistus, Suidas, and Evagrius, have repeated this cir-

cumstance, as also Theophanes, who adds, that the columns were concave. Ibn al Rakik, who gives the same relation, places them at Carthage\*.

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## CHAP. VI.

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OF SAHARA, OR THE GREAT DESERT—ADVENTURES OF SAUG-  
NIER—THE MOWSELEMINES—THE MONGEARTS.

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**T**HE Great Desert, or Sahara, may be considered as composing the intermediate one of the three great divisions of Northern Africa. It comprehends all that extent of land which lies between the narrow stripe termed Barbary which possesses more of the European than of the African character; and that fertile tract which lies to the south of a line drawn from Cape Verd to the Red Sea, which Europeans term Nigritia, and the Africans Sou-dan and Affnoo. It presents a surface equal in extent to nearly one half of Europe, containing

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\* Proceedings of the African Association; Chenier's Present State of Morocco; Morgan's History of Algiers; Shaw's Travels in Barbary; Poirer's Travels through Barbary; Jardine's Letters from Barbary; Leo Africani Descript. Afric; Bruce's Travels, vol. i.; Procopius de Bello Vandal.

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islands of great fertility and population, from which its different parts derive their names, as the deserts of Barca, Bilma, Bornou Sort, &c. Its western division, contained between Fezzan and the Atlantic, is about 50 caravan journeys, or from 750 to 800 geographical miles in breadth, from north to south, and double that extent in length. Amidst this vast sea of lifeless sand, the islands, or Oases, as they were termed by the ancients, are extremely few, and of small extent; but they are more numerous in the eastern division, where, besides many small ones, there are Fezzan Gadamis, Taboo, Ghanat, Agadez, Augela, and Berdoa. From this motely character of its surface, Strabo relates that Africa was compared by Cneius Piso to a leopard's skin. The inhabitants of these Oases are sometimes isolated for ages from the rest of mankind. Having never seen any people but their countrymen, nor any other part of the earth except the sands by which they are surrounded, they consider themselves as the only nation in the world, and think the boundary of their land, that of the universe. Some of these islands are well known to the caravans, others are only stumbled upon at intervals. In a series of ages, the change of the winds, which at present accumulate the sand to the westward, and often sprinkle the decks of vessels off Cape Blanco and Cape Bojador, the change of the atmosphere with respect to the production of dew, and the de-

termination of the water to particular spots for the production of springs, have a much more powerful effect on the earth's surface in Africa than in any other country. Modern times have lost the knowledge of many of those islands that were known to the ancients, and some of these may remain undiscovered to the end of time. Among these that are now lost we may number Ammonica, so famous for the worship of Jupiter Ammon, who was there venerated in the figure of a ram. There, in groves, impenetrable by the rays of the sun, the Ammonians enjoyed continual coolness and perpetual spring. They lived in cottages dispersed through the forests, where streams of water preserved a luxuriant vegetation, in sight of that ocean of bleached white sand that separated them from the rest of the world. The springs which emerge in the Oases, and trickle down the sides of the steep crumbling rocks, seem to have produced these islands, by causing vegetables to grow. As the stratum of sand is shallower in the eastern division of the desert, and the water nearer the surface, these islands are more numerous than in the west. The lower part of the stratum of sand generally contains much water, and is therefore termed in Barbary, according to Dr Shaw, "the sea below ground." The highest parts of northern Africa are situated far to the west, as the mountains of Atlas and Manding. The Sahara has a dip towards the east and

south, as is indicated by the course of the Niger. The desert abounds with salt, which is found in mines or lakes. A race of mixed extraction, but descended chiefly from the Arabs, who are denominated Moors, by a general appellation, has occupied all its habitable districts, where they live in a pastoral state. In many instances they have encroached upon the Aboriginal negroes of the south, who are generally devoted to an agricultural life. This boundary of the Moors and Negroes, does not appear to have varied much from the days of Herodotus\*, who fixes the boundary of the Libyans and Ethiopians near the Niger, about Cassina or Ghana. Messrs Saugnier and Brisson, who, in 1784 and 1785, traversed that part of the desert which lies upon the Atlantic, have described the manners, customs, and modes of life of its inhabitants, with greater accuracy than had been done by any other traveller, though, from their peculiar situation, we may expect the picture to be rather overcharged.

M. Saugnier, in a voyage to Senegal, was shipwrecked off the mountains of Wel de Non, in the country of the Mongearts. After being plundered, he and his companions were separated, and enslaved by the Mongearts and Monselemine. He was conducted by some Arabs towards Senegal; but, from the hostilities of some of the interjacent tribes, they found it impossible to pro-

\* Euterpe, c. 3. and Melpomene, c.

ceed beyond Cape Blanco, and were forced to return to that part of the desert which separates the Monselamines from the Mongearts. During this journey, which continued 30 days, his food consisted only of milk mixed with camels urine, and a little barley-meal mixed with brackish water, when it could be procured. On the first day, his steps were marked with blood; but the Arabs drew out the thorns from his feet, and, having scraped his soles with their daggers, plaistered them over with tar and sand, which enabled him to walk without farther pain or difficulty. In that part of the desert which he traversed, he observed much excellent land, that would be very fertile if cultivated. It produced great quantities of truffles, which the Moors, with much humanity, denied to themselves, and gave to M. Saugnier. He was employed, when he resided at the horde, in making butter, by shaking the milk in a goat's skin, and in collecting dead wood; for, though the country was covered with bushes, the Arabs never touched a green stick. M. Saugnier had not remained long in this situation, till he was sold to one of the Moors, who at that period were in rebellion against the Emperor of Marocco, for a barrel of meal, and an iron-bar about nine feet in length. During a journey of nine days, he eat nothing but small wild fruits resembling *jujubes*. After being repeatedly sold, he rescued his master from being assassinated by four Arabs, from which moment

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his sufferings were at an end, and he was treated as one of the tribe. But, as he refused to renounce his country, he was again sold to the chief of Glimi, who then commanded the Moors who were in rebellion against the Emperor. During his residence in Glimi, having better diet and clothes, he recovered his strength, which had been exhausted in the desert; and relates, that when he asked victuals from the *women*, he never was refused. The French merchants at Mogadore, having been informed of the distress of their countrymen, with the English merchants resident in that place, employed an Arab to purchase the liberty of as many as could be found. Six were accordingly redeemed; but, upon their arrival at Mogadore, found themselves exposed to the childish petulance of a barbarian prince. As the Emperor of Morocco, only two months before, had given the most positive orders to his governors of provinces, in the vicinity of the desert, to use every method of extricating them from the wandering Arabs, he was extremely chagrined, that, in his own dominions, Christians had been able to accomplish what he had found impossible to effect. He therefore threatened to burn the first person alive, who, from that time, should dare to interfere in the redemption of a captive of any nation; and, repaying the money which had been advanced, obliged the merchants to resign M. Saugnier and his companions, and caused them to be conducted to Ma-

rocco. Upon their arrival at Marocco, they were treated with unexpected kindness by the Emperor, who immediately granted them their liberty, and allowed them to return to France by Tangier, from which they sailed on the 31st of July 1784. The acquaintance with the manners of the Arabs of the desert, which M. Saugnier obtained, during his residence in the Sahara, proved afterwards of the greatest utility, in a voyage up the Senegal to Galam, when one of his vessels was stranded on the territory of the Trasarts, a Moorish tribe, and enabled him to preserve his property. His delineation of Nomadic manners appears to be fair and accurate, and untinctured by the prejudices of civilized society.

**OF THE MONSELEMINES.** That part of Bilidulgerid which borders on the territories of Morocco, is inhabited by the Monselemines, who differ in their religion and customs, both from the Moors of Barbary, and the Mongearts of the desert. This nation is composed of the descendants of the ancient Arabs, intermingled with fugitive Moors from Marocco, and occupies a space of land, the limits of which are indicated by lofty columns placed at intervals, towards the desert. Their territory extends from about 30 leagues beyond Cape Non, to the distance of 20 leagues from St Croix or Agader. Though of different qualities, it is, for the most part, very fertile, and produces the necessaries of

life with little cultivation. The plains are watered by an infinite number of streams, and abound with palm, date, fig, and almond trees. The gardens produce excellent grapes, which are dried by the Arabs, and converted into brandy by the Jews. Great quantities of oil, wax, and tobacco, appear in the public markets. More industrious and more laborious than their neighbours, the Monselemine nation cultivates the earth. The chiefs of families choose the ground most fit for cultivation. Its surface is turned slightly over with a kind of paddle, and then the seed is sown upon it: the field is surrounded with bushes, to mark the spot, and to preserve it from the cattle of the wandering Arabs. When the crop is ripe, which is generally at the end of August, three months after the sowing of the seed, it is cut about six inches from the ear, and formed into little bundles; during which time every one labours without intermission from morning to night. The corn is brought before the tent, threshed, winnowed, and placed in the magazines. When the harvest is over, they set fire to the long stubble, and abandon the field for two or three years. Their magazines are large holes in the earth, formed like the *frustum* of a cone, the insides of which are hardened by burning wood in them, before the half-winnowed corn be deposited. When filled with corn, they are covered with planks placed close to each other, over which a layer of earth is

laid level with the soil, to prevent it from being discovered by enemies. In these magazines every one shares in proportion to the number of men he employed in the common labour. The inhabitants of the plains remain by the cultivated fields in seed time, and return at the time of harvest. During the intervals, they wander in all directions with their cattle, taking only necessaries along with them, and having recourse to the magazines when they require a supply. This manner of life, which is adopted by the people of the country, may be considered as intermediate between the pastoral and agricultural states, and is very similar to that of the common people in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, in the 15th century. The more opulent people, and the artisans who are engaged in sedentary occupations, dwell in towns which are all situated upon the declivity of hills. Their houses are built of stone and earth, according to the Moorish construction, low and covered with sloping terraces; yet they are so much injured by the heavy rains which prevail for three months of the year, as to be rendered uninhabitable in 15 or 20 years. Those who reside in towns are generally weavers, shoe-makers, goldsmiths, potters, &c. and have no cattle; but the more opulent persons have flocks and herds of cows, horses, camels, sheep, goats, besides poultry, which are kept by their slaves at a distance from the towns. In the towns they take two



meals a-day, one at 10 o'clock, and the other at the setting of the sun, though the inhabitants of the country only eat in the evening. They sleep in mats upon the floors of their apartments, and make use of linen; but the inhabitants of the country sleep upon terraces in the open air. The pastoral families of the country practise hospitality like those of the desert, and make the traveller pay nothing for his entertainment. In the towns, this practice is impossible, as the concourse of strangers, especially on market-days, would soon impoverish the inhabitants. In this manner hospitality is always extinguished among a trading and commercial people. It is only where the superfluity of commodities runs necessarily to waste, that it is ever practised in a great extent; but where every commodity can find a market, every kind of property acquires a definite value, and will be preserved with the same care as money.

The government of the Monselemines is republican, and they choose new chiefs every year. In the time of war, the chiefs are selected indiscriminately from among the natives and the fugitive Moors. Their authority, like that of the Sachems of the American Indians, terminates with the campaign; but during this period it is absolute. When it is expired, the chief gives an account of his actions to the assembled aged men, and is rewarded or punished according to his conduct;

after which his successor is appointed, and he serves in the army he commanded, as an undistinguished individual. The country is populous, and would be still more so, were it not the continual wars which its inhabitants are obliged to support against the Emperor of Marocco. The liberty they enjoy, imparts energy and courage to their character, and renders their arms invincible to the Moors. They consider it as the most invaluable possession, and defend it to the last extremity. The nature of the country, surrounded on every side by steep and arid mountains, contributes to frustrate the efforts of their enemies. The Monselemine, richer than the subjects of Marocco, is always well clothed and armed. He pays no tribute, enjoys the fruit of his labour and commerce, and, as no contributions are requisite for the charges of the state, whatever he acquires is his own. The fugitive Moors are never armed, except when they go to battle; but the natives go continually armed, whether they reside in the country, resort to the markets, attend the assemblies of the nation, or pay visits. As the Monselemine territory is the retreat of the rich Moors who wish to fly from the tyranny of the Emperor of Marocco, they are too well acquainted with the Moorish customs to be surprised by that prince. No sooner does a Moorish army take the field, than the inhabitants of the country cantons mount their horses, and occupy the passes.

of the mountains, while the women and slaves, escorted by a sufficient number of warriors, retire to the interior parts of the country, or, if they be hard pressed, to the desert. Among the pastoral tribes, there are many that addict themselves entirely to arms, and serve as cavalry in the time of war. During peace, they escort caravans, or exercise themselves in military evolutions, and the management of their horses. Being almost always on horseback, and wearing no boots, they have a callous lump on that part of the leg that comes in contact with the iron of the stirrup. Their horses, which they break in an admirable manner, are the best in the world; as they are treated with great care by their masters, they know them, and are obedient to their voice, and will admit no stranger to mount them.

The Monselemimes derive their origin and name from Moseilama, a contemporary of Mahomet; and, in their love of liberty, as well as in many of their customs, resemble the Arabs of remoter times. They respect the prophet like other Mahometans, but neither believe that he was infallible, nor that his descendants are all inspired by God, nor that their will should be a law, nor that such faith is necessary, in order to be a good Mahometan. Their priests are respected, and, in old age, generally become the civil judges of the nation; but the influence of the high priest is almost despotic. Though he has no troops, he may command the

nation, and war and peace depend upon his will. Though he has no property, every thing is at his disposal: he requires nothing from any one, and yet all are inclined to give. He administers justice, according to the opinion of his counsel, without pretending to be inspired by the prophet. On Friday, the Monselemine assemble in their mosques to pray; this is likewise the day of their principal market, when their merchandize is exposed to sale in the public squares, where the old men judge, without appeal, when disputes arise. Different from their neighbours of Marocco and Sahara, the Monselemine never attempt to make proselytes. Their Christian slaves are treated with humanity, but they owe this to the avarice of their masters. These detest Christians, but they love money, and are afraid lest sickness or death should deprive them of the ransom of the slave, or of the advantage of his labour. Among the inhabitants of the desert, a Christian, that adopts the religion of Mahomet, is admitted as a citizen and member of the family, and is presented with cattle to form an establishment. The Monselemine pay more attention to the value of their property than the situation of the infidel. A Christian who enters a mosque at Marocco, is put to death, or forced to assume the turban. The Monselemine would turn him civilly out, and content themselves with imposing the highest possible fine. Among the Moors, a Christian discovered in an

intrigue with a woman of that nation, suffers death or submits to conversion, but the Monseleminees prefer money to religion. If a Christian slave, among the neighbouring nations, defends himself against his master, he is punished with death ; but money saves him among the Monseleminees ; he would at most receive a slight correction.

The Jews are allowed the free exercise of their religion among the Monseleminees, but are treated with the same indignity as among other Mahometan tribes. A Jew is not permitted to carry arms ; and if he should make use of them against an Arab, he would be punished with death, and probably involve his family in his fate. The Jews only inhabit the towns, where they follow trade and various arts, but are not allowed to cultivate the earth.

Polygamy is permitted, as in other Mahometan countries, but the situation of the women is more respectable, and they are not so much secluded as among the Moors. They mingle more in society, walk at large, and visit their friends ; neither are their apartments so inviolable. Among the Monseleminees that degrading picture of humanity is never seen, which sometimes occurs in Marocco, a woman drawing the plough with an ass, a mule, or some other beast of burden. More happy than the women of the Sahara, and treated with greater attention by their husbands, they are more humane in their dispositions. Like other Arab wo-

men, they stain the edges of their eye-lids black with henna, and paint their faces red and yellow. Their children are brought up with great care, and are not obliged to exhibit proofs of their courage, before they can be considered as men, as is the custom in the desert. Avarice is the principal defect in the character of the Monselemine. They hoard their money with the utmost care, bury it in the earth, and, in many cases, die without discovering their secret, even to their children. We can easily account for this propensity among the Hindoos, who believe in the transmigration of souls, but it is more anomalous among a people by whom no such belief is entertained. Among the Monselemine, this avaricious character seems to be produced by that state of society, in which the rights of property first begin to be guarded, and its acquisition becomes slow and systematical. This nation exhibits that intermediate state of society which occurs in the transition from the pastoral to the agricultural state. In this state, a nation can exert less energy in a single effort, than a pastoral horde, but it multiplies its resources, and is less susceptible of sudden exhaustion. By this process, the most powerful and civilized states of antiquity have acquired that character which secured them in the plenitude of their power : and, should chance produce a great General or Legislator among the modern Monselemine, we may see

a new empire emerge from the deserts of Africa, to rival the Carthaginian or Arabian Dynasties.

**OF THE MONGEARTS.** The most considerable tribes that inhabit the Sahara, are the Mongearts, the Trasars or Trargeas, and the Bracnarts. The Mongearts, on the north border, upon the territories of the Monselemines, and occupy that extent of coast which reaches from Cape Bojador to Cape Blanco. Though shepherds like the Monselemines, they are not so warlike, nor so much versed in arms, as they procure their subsistence with much greater difficulty, while their mutual jealousies, and the barrenness of the country, prevent them from forming a general confederacy. The Trasars and Bracnarts, who inhabit more fertile tracts on the northern banks of the Niger, are more closely united as communities, and consequently more formidable to their neighbours. The information of M. Saugnier is corroborated by Mr Park, who, during his residence in Ludamar, was told that the Moorish tribes of Trasart and Il-Braken were more powerful than those of Gedumak, Jafnoo, and Ludamar. These tribes only differ from the Mongearts in some trivial customs which they have derived from their intercourse with the negroes. That part of the desert which the Mongearts inhabit, is parched and uncultivated. The flying sand, comminuted into the smallest particles, drifts with every gale, and rises,

at times, into high mountains, which soon disappear as the winds blow. Shifting for a succession of ages, it is soon deposited in mounds, at regular intervals, which arrangement produces a continual succession of sand-showers, except when the air is entirely stagnant. When the sand-shower reaches the tents of the Arabs, they load their camels, turn their backs to the gale, and haste away; which precaution alone can preserve them from being buried alive.

This flying sand is the great obstacle to cultivation, for the soil of the desert is not every where unproductive. It is true, there are few trees, but the country is covered with brushwood, through which palms and dates rise at distant intervals; while fine plains are interspersed among the sand-hills, that would be very fertile if the Arabs cultivated the ground. The country abounds in antelopes, wild-boars, leopards, apes, and serpents. The wild-boars and leopards often commit great ravages among the goats, but, as the Mongearts are expert hunters, they keep them at a distance from their habitations. The leopard's skin is an article of commerce, and that of the serpent, formed into bandages, is supposed to preserve the sight. As water is very scarce in Sahara, the inhabitants form large holes for reservoirs, at particular distances, to collect the rain-water, which, though stagnant and putrid, is the only drink of man and beast. Except on the banks of the Niger, they

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have very few cows or oxen in the desert, on account of this scarcity of water, for there is no deficiency of pasturage. The flocks and herds of the Mongearts consist chiefly of sheep, goats, and camels, animals patient of thirst. None but the possessors of numerous herds are able to maintain horses, as it is often necessary to give them milk to drink for want of water. The urine of the camels is carefully preserved, not only to wash the vessels used to contain food, but also to mix with the milk, which detestable mixture the Arabs are frequently reduced to drink. As the riches of the Mongearts consist in their herds and flocks, they tend them with the greatest care. If a beast be sick, it is treated with greater care than a man, but if the sickness appears to be deadly, they kill and eat it. If an animal die before its blood be shed, it is unclean, as also an animal that is killed by a wild boar, which is an unclean animal, and never eaten by the Arabs. Living upon milk, and the corn they can procure in barter from their neighbours, they are so slothful as seldom to provide their food till urged by hunger, when they are often obliged to content themselves with milk alone. While the women are employed in domestic occupations, the negroes and children tend the flocks, and the men frequent the public markets, or assembling places of the several hordes. The negroes and the children leave the tents about 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning, and do not return till the

evening; and subsist, during the interval, upon wild plants, as truffles, sweet-potatoes, and a red fruit smaller than jujubes, of the same taste. The men procure at the markets the necessaries for subsistence, and hunting. Hunting the ostrich is a favourite amusement, but it can only be undertaken by horsemen, who go out to the number of twenty, and riding against the wind, at the interval of a quarter of a league behind each other, rush upon the animal as soon as they perceive it. The Ostrich lifts up its wings, and, running in the direction of the wind, may avoid two or three successively, but cannot escape the whole number. When a number of Mongearts associate for hunting, trading, or plundering their enemies, they divide the property acquired into shares, which a woman, child, or stranger, who knows nothing about their contents, distributes, and thus avoid altercation. The only artificers among the Mongearts, are the goldsmiths, or rather blacksmiths, from Bilidulgerid, who find sufficient work among the Arabs, who are too indolent themselves to apply to such occupations. They make trinkets for the women, mend the broken vessels by rivetting, and clean the arms, for which they are paid in skins, goats, and camels hair, or ostrich feathers, according to agreement. Those who have silver, pay a tenth part by weight for any thing wrought out of that metal. As their only manufacture is very bad sandals, they procure shoes and other ar-

articles of dress from the Trasarts, and the inhabitants of Bilidulgerid, in exchange for their cattle. When they can procure Guinea blues, they use them for shirts, and wear a huik or blanket 5 ells long and five quarters wide, with a cloak of camels hair. Those who are not wealthy enough to procure the latter article, imitate it with goat-skins. In a little bag suspended from their neck, they carry their tinder, their pipe, and their tobacco. Their daggers are of elegant workmanship; the hilt is black and inlaid with ivory; the blade is crooked and sharp on each side; the sheath is on one side of brass and on the other of silver. They are fond of sabres, especially those of Spanish make. Their muskets are formed like carabines, and highly ornamented; the stock is small and inlaid with ivory, and the barrel embossed with brass and silver, with a spring to the lock to cover the priming. Those who do not possess muskets, wear daggers, zagays, and clubs pointed with iron; but all pay greater attention to their arms than to their dress. As neither sex wears linen, and as the want of water prevents their clothes from being frequently washed, they are covered with vermin. To secure themselves from this inconvenience, as well as the bite of the gnats, they anoint themselves with the most rancid butter or grease, which exhales a very foetid smell.

Hospitality is practised in the desert in its greatest extent. The person of an enemy is inviolable in a tent, even though he should have killed its master. When a stranger reaches an Arab horde, the first person who perceives him points out the tent to which he should go, which is always that of the chief. If the master be not present, the wife or the slave advances to meet him, stops him at the distance of twenty paces, and brings him a draught of milk. His camels are then unloaded, and his effects ranged round him; his arms are deposited near those of the master of the tent; and a repast is prepared, though his host should be obliged to fast himself. As the chief is commonly the richest in cattle, he has always abundance of milk; but as he entertains all strangers, every tent contributes to his stock of provisions.

Though the situation of the female sex among the Mongearts be more respectable than among some neighbouring nations, yet it rises very little above the most slavish subjection. In preparing food, in spinning the hair of goats and camels, and in picking up withered shrubs for fuel, their day passes slow and uniform, and when the hour of repast comes, at setting of the sun, they wait at table while the freemen and slaves of the same religion eat, and content themselves with what is left by these. As the difficulty of procuring subsistence restrains polygamy, a wife has seldom to dread a rival; but the affection of her husband

does not secure her from repudiation, if she produces no male children; but, where the expression of affection and fondness is blows and bruises, in the most trifling disputes, it cannot be extremely enviable, especially as it may literally happen that she may be killed with kindness. As the wife brings her husband no portion, the formality of divorce consists only in retiring to the tents of her parents, from which if she does not chuse to return to her husband, the marriage is supposed to be dissolved, and the parties contract other engagements. But if a wife has one or more male children, she acquires absolute authority in the tent, and has no longer a divorce to fear. If she then retire to the tents of her relations for a longer period than eight days, she may be punished with death. The fidelity of the women, notwithstanding the hardships of their situation, is incorruptible, as they believe that, in a future world, conjugal infidelity will be punished by eternal slavery to the more virtuous part of the sex. In visits, the kindness of reception consists in committing to the visitor the work of the tent, and causing them to perform the honours of entertainment. The kindness of reception is proportioned to the degree of work committed to the visitor. Where the women are thus depressed, the slaves are treated with still greater rigour. The young negroes are allowed to attend the public schools and join in the amusements of the young Arabs,

but they are severely treated for the most trifling faults. If a negress have a boy by an Arab, her situation becomes more agreeable, though she does not obtain freedom, like her child. A Christian slave is reckoned superior even to a Mahometan negro, though neither the women nor the slaves would allow him to eat with them. The child of a Christian is treated with the same kindness as those of the Arabs. In the education of their children force is never employed, as they reckon it criminal to punish one who cannot distinguish good from evil. From this principle, they carry their complaisance to such an absurd length, as to comply with every desire of those who are deaf, dumb, or mad, because their unfortunate situation demands some alleviation. Here we may perceive the origin of that veneration for insanity so general among the eastern nations, without admitting the opinion of the French philosophers, that insanity and inspiration had originally the same meaning. Like many other institutions that have been degraded by ignorance, and abused by hypocrisy, it originated in a principle of true humanity. The children of the Arabs assemble in the morning at school, with small boards like our horn-books, inscribed with the Arabic characters and sentences of the Koran, as voluntarily as if it were a place of recreation. The oldest receive instructions from the priests, who are the teachers, and communicate them to

the younger children. If the child wearies of school, he quits it at pleasure without incurring reproach, and goes to tend the flocks of his father. The advantages of this lenient method of treatment are not so great as might be wished, for very few of the Arabs ever learn to read. At the age of seven or eight years, the males are circumcised, when their head is shaved. At this period four locks of hair are always left, one of which is cut every time the boy distinguishes himself by his courage. When the head is entirely shaved he is considered as a man, and seldom reaches the age of twenty without deserving this honour. As the knowledge, wants, and laws of the Mongearts are very circumscribed, the child soon acquires the faculties of the man; for age and experience are useless, where there is no information to be attained.

This wandering and fugitive people, who are composed of a mixture of nations, and who do not even form a distinct political body, easily adopt the usages of their neighbours; but in all their customs and actions the principles of natural religion appear, or rather, as they bear the name of Mahometans, they may be said to exhibit Mahometanism in its utmost purity. Though they offer up prayers three times a day, they never recite them in public, except a priest be present. Instead of ablution, the scarcity of water compells them to rub their faces and arms with sand.

They have an insuperable aversion to the Jewish religion, though in every other instance they exhibit nothing like Mahometan intolerance; but this prejudice seems to be derived from their Portuguese ancestors. As the peculiarity of feature which marks the Hebrew nation, exposes them to certain detection, the punishment of burning alive deters them from entering the territory of the Mongearts. The priests are distinguished by the appellation of *Sidi*, which, like the Hebrew *Rabbi*, signifies master. Friday is their great festival, and is spent in sports, as among the Monselemines. As the government is in some measure patriarchal, and vested in the heads of families, old age is held in high veneration. The seniors of the horde enjoy the same prerogatives as the priests, and, along with the chiefs, perform the functions of civil judges, though incapable of inflicting capital punishments. The punishment of death is only inflicted in cases of great atrocity, after condemnation in the assembly of the chiefs; for as the horde are seldom numerous, all the members are interested to prevent the diminution of their numbers. The Mongearts, like the ancient Spartans, authorize theft by law. As they are continually exposed to destruction, from the voracity of the wild beasts, and the dissensions of their clans, it is necessary to cherish habits of caution and vigilance. If the thief escapes immediate detection, the owner can never reclaim the property.



which his negligence has lost, though he should recognize it in the possession of another ; but immediate detection is followed by immediate punishment.

Property descends by inheritance in equal shares to the male children, but the females are entirely excluded from participation, and are obliged to reside with their eldest brother. If the male children have not reached puberty, the chief of the horde becomes their guardian. The chiefs of hordes are always the eldest of their families, and cannot be tried except by their compeers assembled. Their office consists in determining where to pitch the tents, where to stop, and when to commence their journeys ; and, if the pasturage renders it necessary, to assign different encampments for the several divisions of the horde. The tent of the chief is always the most large and lofty, and placed in the centre of the divisions.

The medicinal applications of the Mongearts are extremely simple, but appear sufficiently complex from the mummary of the priests, who are the depositaries of their medical science. Flesh wounds are cauterized with a hot iron, and then covered with herbs dipped in turtles oil and tar. In headaches, a compress is applied with such violence, that the blood starts from the forehead. In internal diseases, the general remedies are regimen, rest, and a few maxims of the Koran mysteriously applied to the affected part.

The Mongearts wander through their deserts in security from invaders, during the greater part of the year: but in the months of August, September, and October, when the rains which flood the plains compel them to retire to the interior ridges of Atlas, their scattered hordes are often overpowered and plundered by the Monselemines. The Spaniards of the Canary isles, also, make frequent descents upon their coasts, and carry off men, women, and cattle. This practice renders them more sanguinary and cruel to those who are shipwrecked on their coasts; for, in revenge, they massacre without mercy whoever they suppose to be Spaniards. Unfortunately the nature of the country, which admits of indefinite dispersion, and opposes no natural barriers to the encroachments of hostile tribes, by presenting a prospect of safety in flight, has prevented their mutual dangers from compressing the relations of civil society, and uniting the unconnected hordes in a compact national mass.

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## CHAP. VII.

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### ADVENTURES OF BRISSON—THE OUADELIME AND LAB- DESSEBA.

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**M.** DE BRISSON, after having made several voyages to Africa, was wrecked a little to the north of Cape Blanc, and fell into the hands of the Labdesseba Arabs. After escaping the shoals, his companions and he ascended the rocks on the shore, from the summits of which they saw the country expand in an immense plain, covered with white sand, over which were thinly scattered a few creeping plants resembling branches of coral. The seed of these plants was similar in form to that of mustard, but extremely small. The Arabs, who collect it to form an edible paste, term it avezoud. The distant hills, covered with wild fern, presented the appearance of an extensive forest. Proceeding towards some camels which they observed, they were discovered by some children tending the goats, and the alarm was soon spread to the tents of the Arabs, who quickly advanced to meet them with frightful shrieks and gesticulations. Terror seized the companions of M. de Brisson as the Arabs advanced ; and the

polished steel of their weapons reflected the sunbeams ; they dispersed themselves in confusion ; and were quickly overpowered, stripped, and plundered. Brisson and eleven others surrendered themselves to the *Talbe*, or priest, who was unarmed, and were conducted to a wretched hut, covered with moss, at the distance of a league from the shore. Here, during the absence of Sidi Mahomet, the priest, who was of the tribe of Labdesseba, they were attacked and maltreated by a party of the Ouadelims, and, during the bustle which ensued, Brisson had almost lost his life. Instead of compassionating his forlorn situation, the women threw sand into his eyes, as they said to dry his eye-lids. The Arabs, into whose hands he had fallen, had only come down to the sea-coast to gather wild grain, three days before the shipwreck ; and, to preserve their booty, they immediately retreated to the interior part of the desert. A guide preceded the horde, to place at intervals small pyramids of stone, to direct their course, at a distance from every hostile tribe. After passing some very high mountains, wholly covered with small greyish pebbles, as sharp as flints, they descended into a sandy plain overspread with thorns and thistles. When Brisson was unable to walk, on account of the bleeding of his feet, he was mounted on a camel, the bristly hair and hard trot of which soon excoriated him so much, that the blood run copiously down its flanks.

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By throwing heated stones into a wooden vessel, filled with barley meal, diluted with water procured on the sea-shore, preserved in a goat-skin, and mixed with pitch to prevent putrefaction, the Arabs prepared a kind of soup, which they kneaded with their hands, and ate unchewed. They roasted a goat in heated sand, ate its fat raw, and, after having devoured the flesh, gnawed the bones, and scraped them with their nails, threw them to Brisson and his companions, desiring them to eat quickly, and load the camels, that the journey might not be impeded. Proceeding eastward, they crossed a vast plain, covered with small stones, white as snow, round and flat as a lentil, where not a single plant was produced. The earth beneath their feet resounded dull and hollow, and the small stones pricked them like sparks of fire. The reflection of the rays of the sun from the sand was scorching; the atmosphere was loaded with a red vapour, and the country appeared as if filled with flaming volcanos. Neither birds nor insects could be seen in the air. The profound silence was frightful. If a gentle breeze ever arose, it produced extreme languor, chopping of the lips, burning heat of the skin, with small smarting pimples. This plain was even shunned by wild beasts. After traversing this plain, they entered another, where the wind had thrown up in furrows the sand, which was of a reddish colour. On the tops of the furrows

grew a few sweet-scented plants, which were devoured by the camels. On quitting this sandy plain, they entered a valley surrounded by mountains, where the soil was white and slimy, and where they found water of a noxious smell, covered with green moss, and soon after discovered a horde of the friendly tribe Roussye. Sidi Selselem, one of the chiefs of this horde, and brother-in-law to Sidi Mahomet, proposed to Brisson to put himself under his protection, and offered to purchase him; to which Brisson, who expected soon to reach either Senegal or Marocco, gave a firm refusal. After another journey of sixteen days, they arrived at the tents of the Labdesseba horde, to which Sidi Mahomet belonged. The tents pitched among thick bushy trees, and the numerous flocks feeding along the sides of the hills, presented at a distance an aspect of happiness and pastoral simplicity. On approaching near, the trees of beautiful green foliage proved to be only old gummy stumps, almost void of branches, so encircled with thorns, that their shade was inaccessible. The women approached with loud cries and the most fawning servility, to welcome their tyrants, to throw stones at the Christians and spit in their faces, while the children imitated the example of their mothers. Brisson, who endeavoured to ingratiate himself with his master's favourite, not only failed in this, but incurred her implacable resentment, through his irritability, which to

the Arab women seemed extremely to resemble petulance. During his residence with Sidi Mahomet, the hardships he endured were almost incredible. With the excessive heat, the milk of the sheep, goats, and camels diminished, and then the dogs fared better than the Christians, who were forced to subsist on wild herbs and raw snails. When the rains fell, and the least pressure made the water to spring up through the sandy soil, the Christians slept behind a bush, unsheltered, on the bare ground. Brisson and his master sometimes reasoned about religion, when the latter always answered the harangues of the former by declaring, that he preferred a bowl of churned milk to such absurdities. Several of his companions perished, and were left by the Arabs to be devoured by the ravens, while in the struggles of death. One of them was supposed to be murdered by his master for milking his camels clandestinely. An application made by Brisson to the consul at Mogador, by a letter entrusted to a Jewish merchant, was frustrated through the negligence of the vice-consul; and the Labdesseba Arabs thought the journey too dangerous to be encountered for the ransom of their slaves. The drought became so excessive, that no pasturage could be found for the flocks; upon which the tribes of Ouadelim and Labdesseba after holding a consultation, determined to go in search of new habitations. The horde, to which Brisson's master

belonged, was one of those that remained behind, while the Ouedhins extended their ravages to <sup>Guad-</sup> <sup>elins</sup> Guadnum, at the distance of 300 leagues from their former residence. Those who remained behind, subsisted for a short period, but were soon reduced to the utmost extremities; by the failure of pasturage and water. They were forced to kill their camels and goats, in order to obtain the water in their stomachs, which was of a greenish colour, and extremely disagreeable. In this dreadful situation he was purchased by Sidi Sellem, the brother-in-law of his master, with whom he immediately departed for Marocco. On their journey, the appearance which the country presented was uniform and wild. Wide sandy plains, terminated by a bare horizon of bleak rocky hills, filled up this blank in-nature. The plains were covered frequently with calcined flints resembling a smith's charcoal. In one place, they observed some whitish earth, over which the trunks of trees were heaped in confusion, with their roots torn off. Their bark was entirely peeled, and their branches, brittle as glass, were twisted like cords. Their wood was yellowish, like the wood of liquorice, and the heart of the trees was filled with a powder very hard to the touch. Neither the wood, nor the enclosed dust, nor the calcined stones, had either taste or smell. At some distance, the mountains, which were extremely high, seemed to be piled above each other



in immense ranges, from whence enormous blocks appeared to have fallen, and to have been shattered to pieces before reaching the ground. These detached masses, over which other rocks hung suspended, formed immense caverns, and covered the vallies. From another quarter, two fountains issued, one of which drew along in its course a black slimy matter of a sulphureous smell. The other, separated from the first by a small isthmus of sand, of the breadth of 12 or 15 paces, was clearer than chrystal. In a valley, which appeared at first sight extremely circumscribed by the surrounding mountains, and the detached rocks which were heaped up in promiscuous confusion, Brisson discovered an astonishing variety of scenery. At the entrance of the valley, the ground was moist and furrowed, as if it had been formerly watered by winding rivulets. The borders of these furrows were covered with beds of pebbles, and crusted over with a nitrous kind of ice. The rocks which enclosed the furrows were covered with the same, and resembled cascades. Thick reddish roots and branches, covered with leaves, like those of the laurel, crept across the different crevices. As he advanced, pyramids of great stones, white as alabaster, appeared towering above each other, and seemed to mark the border of a bank. Lofty date trees, whose trunks were warped even to the top, rose behind the pyramids, with palm-trees, the height and colour of which exhibited proofs of

their high antiquity. Others of these were thrown down, and lay stripped of the bark; they crumbled to pieces upon being touched; and the filaments under the bark were covered with a saltish powder, clear as chrystal. The roots which hung down the rocks were glutinous, and the bark broke off at the slightest touch. Advancing nearer Marocco, they found lofty mountains covered with stones of rose, violet, citron, and green colours; and observed forests at a distance. On their approach, they were astonished to see the trunks of trees descending from the centres of rocks, and apparently hanging down like fruits, while the roebucks coursed, one after another, over the hanging rocks, and the trees that hung suspended in the air. Brisson remarks, that no trees in these forests are injured by lightening except one, the leaf of which resembles that of the gum-tree or common parsley. Before reaching Guadnum, they arrived at the habitations of the tribe Telkoennes, who reside among mountains of sand, as if they endeavoured to hide themselves from the light of the sun. It is almost impossible to penetrate their retreats, unless a person be acquainted with the passes of the sand-hills. The plains in their neighbourhood swarm with enormous serpents. At last they reached Guadnum, the asylum of the most daring rebels of all the Arabian tribes, the mart of the inhabitants of the desert, who come there to barter their camels, peltry,

gunn, &c. ; for woollen stuffs, half white and half crimson ; for wheat, barley, dates, horses, tobacco, gunpowder, combs, and mirrors. This trade is entirely carried on by the Jews. The inhabitants live in a state of mutual distrust ; their houses are guarded by large dogs, and also their persons, when they walk through the city. Leaving Guadnum, they arrived at Mogadore, and were delivered up to the Governor, who sent them with an escort to the Emperor, at Marocco, by whom he was soon after set at liberty. The character of the inhabitants of Marocco differs little from that of the Arabs of the Desart : They are not of so stout a make, but of a fairer complexion ; more accustomed to the sight of Europeans, but equally addicted to insulting them. The earthen ruinous walls of the palace resembled the inclosure of a church-yard ; the outside of the seraglio was not unlike a barn, and the houses of the city of a very bad construction. The narrative of Brisson represents the Moors and the Arabs of the Desart in the most unfavourable point of view. Inflamed with resentment at the insults to which he was exposed from the religious bigotry of the Mahometans, and soured with the hardships he endured in the desart, to which the Arabs were equally obnoxious, but which they were more able to encounter, he gives every circumstance the most malicious construction. To a Frenchman of fine feelings, that appearance of insensibility which

misery produces, assumed the form of deliberate cruelty. The general outline of the picture he delineates seems to be sufficiently correct, but the minute figures are probably in the stile of caricature. Like a certain painter of the Flemish school, he cannot be charged with wilful exaggeration ; but the rancour of his ulcerated mind darkened the faces of his devils, and gave their features a peculiar expression of malice. As he traversed some of the districts of the desert at a great distance from the shore, his remarks on the manners of the Arabs who inhabit the interior, are extremely interesting.

OF the OUADELIM and LABDESSEBA. Of the inhabitants of the interior regions of Sahara, the Ouadelim and Labdesseba are the most formidable, who often extend their ravages to the very gates of Marocco. Their herds are frequently intermingled with those of the Rousse, Kathidi-<sup>Quassey</sup>um, Chelus, Tucanois, and Ouadeli tribes, as they have no distinct boundaries, and change their habitations, as the desert affords pasturage and water. They are tall, handsome, stout and vigorous men. Their hair is bristled, and their nails, which they often use in battle, as long as claws ; large hanging ears and a long beard, give them a stern ferocious air. The Ouadelim, in particular, are fierce, arrogant and warlike, but soon dispirited by obstinate resistance, especially when they have

not a decided superiority in numbers. In their hordes they lodge by families, in tents which are covered with a thick cloth of camels hair, which the women spin and weave upon a loom so small, that they work sitting on the ground. The furniture of their tents consist of two large sacks of leather, in which they keep old clothes and pieces of old iron, three or four goat-skins for holding milk and water, two large stones for grinding their barley, a smaller one for driving the pins of their tents, an ozier matting, which serves for a bed, a thick carpet for a covering, a small kettle, and some wooden dishes, with pack-saddles for their camels. The person who, besides these articles, possesses a few horses, camels, sheep and goats, is reckoned wealthy, as there are many Arabs who only possess sheep and goats. Except sore eyes and the cholic, they are subject to few endemic diseases. The first disorder is caused by the reflection of light from the burning sands of the desert, the other proceeds from the verdigrease which contaminates all their victuals. Their kettles are not tinned, and never washed, so that they are quite crusted over with verdigrease, the virulence of which is probably diminished by the quantity of milk they use. When they reside long in one place, they sometimes plow the spots which are moistened by the rain, and sprinkle them with seed in a careless manner. Plentiful crops are often thus produced ; but, instead of waiting till the

grain attains maturity, they cut it down, and dry it over hot cinders. Treachery and perfidy are the innate vices of the Arabs ; assassinations are frequent ; no man trusts the promise of another ; no man makes a written agreement, as the poignard cancels all bonds and obligations. The men often relate their exploits to each other ; the embellishing of a story is succeeded by a charge of falsehood, and the poignard solves every difficulty. The ancient rites of hospitality, however, are practised among these tribes, in their utmost extent. The Arab, who, in the field, is a rapacious plunderer, becomes liberal and generous as soon as he enters his tent. War is only a species of rapine, and the victory is decided at the first shock. The Arab is devoid of sanguinary courage ; he attacks only to plunder, and never thinks that booty is to be put in competition with his life. When the battle is ended, each party make graves for the slain, and enclose the tombs with mounds of stones. The ages of the warriors are denoted by the space of ground which the grave occupies, and the funeral procession is closed by the howls of the females.

The women never assume the name of their husbands, and never eat with them at meals. They are faithful to their husbands, and cannot be divorced except by the decree of the seniors of the horde. The Arabs display their opulence by the ornaments of their women, whose ears, arms, and

legs, are generally adorned with rings of gold and silver. An Arab beauty must have long teeth shooting out of her mouth, a body extremely thick, and limbs of the longest size. At the birth of a son, every woman, to testify her joy, blackens her face for 40 days. At the birth of a daughter she only daubs the half of her face, during the space of 20 days. A mother treats her son with the same respect as her husband, almost as soon as he is able to walk ; she prepares his food, serves him, and eats when he has finished his repast. In the education of their young men, the most important acquisitions are dexterity in the use of the poignard, skill in embowelling their enemies with their long nails, and a plausible air in concealing a falsehood. More rude and ferocious than the tribes whose territories lie upon the shore of the sea, the Labdesseba and Ouadelim Arabs are also more confined and illiberal in their ideas, not only believing that they are the first nation in the world, but fancying that the sun rises only for them. Brisson relates, that some of them expressed this idea in unequivocal terms. " Behold," said they, " that luminary, which is unknown in thy country. During the night, thou art not enlightened, as we are, by that heavenly body, which regulates our days and our fasts. His children \* point out to us the hours of prayer. You have neither trees nor camels, sheep, goats nor dogs.

\* The stars.

"Are your women similar to ours." "How long  
"didst thou remain in the womb of thy mother,"  
said another. "As long," replied Brisson, "as  
"thou in that of thine." "Indeed," said a third,  
counting the fingers and toes of the Frenchman,  
"he is made like us, he differs only in his colour  
"and language." "Do you sow barley in your  
"houses?" said the Arabs, alluding to the ships  
of the Europeans. "No," said Brisson, "we  
"sow our fields almost in the same season as  
"you." "How!" cried several, "do you in-  
"habit the earth? we believed that you were  
"born and lived upon the sea." These Arabs,  
according to the Turkish proverb, believe that all  
the world is like their father's house: unacquaint-  
ed with the manners of other nations, and unac-  
customed to reflect upon the causes of national  
character, every variation from their own customs  
appears not only ridiculous, but monstrous, every  
difference of opinion not only absurd, but criminal.  
This ignorance of the Arabs, conjoined with their  
local and religious prejudices, enables us to ac-  
count for the insulting treatment, which Brisson  
and his companions received, without having re-  
course to inherent depravity of nature. In the  
15th century, millions of Indians were massacred  
in America by the Spaniards, because they were  
thought to have the faces of monkeys; and, in a  
solemn council of ecclesiastics, the negroes were  
condemned to slavery, because they had the colour

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of the damned. Many of our early navigators relate, with great complacency, the most abominable murders, the most shocking massacres, which they committed, without the least remorse, because their inoffensive victims were ignorant of the Christian religion. Instances of the most atrocious nature, even unparalleled by the barbarities of the Moors of Barbary and the Sahara, occur in almost every relation of African, as well as American discoveries. The cruelty of the women and children might easily proceed from infantine curiosity, from the vanity of exhibiting their courage, or from an ardent desire of displaying their affection to their husbands or fathers. Is not the method, by which civilized Europeans display their patriotism, and their affection for their friends, very similar to that of the Arabs? They do not indeed, in common cases, treat their prisoners with wanton barbarity, but they pour forth the grossest invectives against hostile nations, and echo the most scurrilous misrepresentations of their character. Such coincidences show, that the radical principles of the human constitution are every where the same, however they may happen to be modified by adventitious circumstances; that civilized society is not the cause of evil and vice, since the caprice of the savage may convert his stupidity into the most ferocious and inhuman passion\*.

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\* Saugnier's Narrative; Brisson's Narrative; Leo Africanus; Marmol. Descrip. Afric.; Barbot's Description of North and South Guinea.

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## C H A P. VIII.

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OUTLINE OF NORTH GUINEA OR NEGRTIA—GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY AND INHABITANTS—ORIGIN OF THE NAME GUINEA—KINGDOM OF GUALATA OR WALET—EMPIRE OF GHINNY OR GHANO—DISCOVERY BY THE ROMANS—BY EUROPEANS.

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**A**N intelligent traveller, who traverses Egypt or Barbary, will read the degeneracy of the modern inhabitants in the monuments of past ages, and trace the vestiges of former civilization and grandeur amid pestilential marshes and sultry sands, where the grey firmament bounds the desert, and the silence is only broken by the cry of the jackal. At every step he sees fertile fields abandoned to desolation; villages deserted and cities ruined. He meets the mutilated remains of antiquity; the wrecks of temples, palaces, and fortifications, pillars, aqueducts, and sepulchres; and perceives that the land has devoured its inhabitants! Winding towards the west, along the shore of the Sahara, where life and vegetation almost cease, where there are no ruins but the ruins of nature, and where only a few straggling Arabs, like evil

genii, live in despite of desolation, he at last approaches a more fertile region, and the forests of gum-trees become more numerous. The gum-tree is a species of *Acacia*, evergreen, with long rough narrow leaves, full of prickles, and bearing a white flower. The principal gum-forests lie about 60 leagues from Portendic and 80 from Arguin. Here the desert terminates in vague and ill defined boundaries, and the proper territory of the negroes commences, which the Arabs term Biled al Soudan or Biled al Abiad, the land of the Blacks, or the Land of Slaves. Along the coast, the soil is of very unequal quality. From Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, it is sandy, with a large mixture of broken shells, and in many places the sand is covered with a rich black mould. The most barren tracts are covered with bushes and long grass ; but over the black mould the vegetation is luxuriant, and the trees of vast dimensions. From the Gambia to Rio Nunez, according to Adamson, the soil both of the sea-coast and of the interior districts is of incomparable fertility. Whether any of these regions have ever been inhabited by powerful civilized nations, is uncertain : There are vast chasms in the history of ancient nations, which elude all our researches : We cannot penetrate the gloom of the remote ages. The early civilization of south Africa is attested by numerous ancient authorities ; and some authors, with Bruce and Volney,

believe that the elements of the arts and sciences were discovered in the Thebaid and Abyssinia, by a nation of a dark complexion and woolly hair. "The Thebans," says Diodorus, "consider themselves as the most ancient people on the earth; and assert, that with them originated philosophy, and the science of the stars. Their situation, it is true, is infinitely favourable to astronomical observation, and they have a more accurate division of time into months and years, than other nations." The same opinion he attributes to the Ethiopians. "The Ethiopians conceive themselves to be of greater antiquity than any other nation; and it is probable that, born under the sun's path, its warmth may have ripened them earlier than other men. They suppose themselves also to be the inventors of divine worship, of festivals, of solemn assemblies, of sacrifices, and every other religious practice. They affirm that the Egyptians are one of their colonies, and that the Delta, which was formerly sea, became land by the conglomeration of the earth of the higher country, which was washed down by the Nile. They have, like the Egyptians, two species of letters, hieroglyphics, and the alphabet; but, among the Egyptians, the first was known only to the priests, and by them transmitted from father to son, whereas both species are common among the Ethiopians." "The Ethiopians,"

says Lucian, " were the first who invented the  
" science of the stars, and gave names to the pla-  
" nets, not at random, and without meaning, but  
" descriptive of the qualities which they conceiv-  
" ed them to possess ; and it was from them, that  
" this art passed in an imperfect state to the  
" Egyptians." But whatever opinion we adopt  
concerning the early civilization of the ancient  
Egyptians and Ethiopians, it will be easily al-  
lowed that neither tradition, history, nor ancient  
monuments, seem to show that the inhabitants of  
Nigritia have ever existed in a state of high  
refinement. Their soil easily supplies the neces-  
sities of life ; and their artificial wants are not so  
numerous as to prevent gratification. They are  
unacquainted with the dexterity and dispatch  
which the division of labour produces ; they have  
no conception of the increase of power, which  
arises from the combination of solitary efforts into  
one complex operation. Their exertions are  
individual and desultory ; for unpolished tribes  
dwell on the detail, while refined nations generalize  
their knowledge. When we consider the imper-  
fection of their tools, and their ignorance of ma-  
chinery ; when we also recollect that the same in-  
dividual spins, weaves, sews, hunts, fishes, and  
forms his baskets, fishing-tackle, and instruments  
of agriculture, the neatness of their manufacture  
in iron, gold, fillagree-work, cotton-matting, and  
basket-work, may excite our admiration. They

also make salt and soap, and dye cloths with considerable skill. Even the rudest tribes make their own fishing-tackle, canoes, and implements of agriculture.

Such is the degree of improvement at which they have arrived; though the accursed slave-trade, carried on by the Moors and the Whites, disturbs their agriculture, destroys their peace, and endangers their persons. Where they are not in personal danger, the erection of houses, the cultivation of their fields, and the reaping of their crops, is carried on in concert by all the inhabitants of a village, with a happy mixture of labour and festivity. Where the Negro character is not degraded by vicious example, nor tortured into falsehood and cruelty, an amiable simplicity of manners prevails. With the territories of the Negroes, ancient authors were very little acquainted; yet Ptolemy terms their country *Negritarum regio*, and mentions various tribes whom he denominates Rerorci, Leucæthiopes, Aphricæ-rones, and Derbici. He places the Sophucæi Æthiopes between Sierra Leona and Rio Grande, the Anganginæ Æthiopes between Sierra Leona and Cape Palmas, and the Perorsi in the interior part of that region. He also mentions the name Guinea, which, he says, is an indigenous term, expressive of the hot temperature of the climate. Since the time of Ptolemy, the name Guinea has been applied to the maritime districts of Negritia,

in great latitude of acceptance. According to the Portuguese, Upper Guinea commences at Cape Ledo or Tagrin, and terminates at Cape Lope, where Lower Guinea begins, and extends to Cape Negro. From the river Gambia to Cape Palmas is denominated North Guinea by the English, according to whom South Guinea extends from Cape Palmas to Cape Gonzalez. According to the French, Guinea lies between Cabomonte and Cape Lope; but the Dutch include in North Guinea, all the coast from Cape Blanco to Sierra Leona, and suppose South Guinea to terminate at Cape Lope. The name of Guinea is entirely unknown to the natives of all this extent of country, except in some parts of the Gold Coast, where the inhabitants have learned it from the European traders. Concerning its etymon, various opinions have been entertained, the most probable of which seems to be, that it was originally the name of a powerful kingdom, on the north of the Senegal, the territories of which, at one period, extended from the interior regions to the sea-coast, and bordered upon the dominions of the Moors, when they were most powerful. The Portuguese, who were at that time engaged in the Moorish wars, frequently heard the name of Guinea, Gheneva, or Ghenehoa, repeated by the Moors; it was the first country with which their circumnavigators became acquainted, and hence the name was indefinitely applied to the coast of North Africa.

When the kingdom of Guinea decreased in power, and other tribes occupied the coast of the Atlantic, which had once formed a part of its territory, vague tradition still continued to talk of the empire of Guinea, when its position could no longer be ascertained by coasting vessels, till at length its existence was entirely disbelieved. Numerous circumstances, however, combine to show, that this empire not only existed at a former period, but that its seat still remains in the modern Ghano. Leo Africanus \* visited Guinea, which he describes as bounded by Gualata on the north, Tombut on the east, and Melli on the south. "It extends," says he, "along the Niger to the Ocean, about 500 miles. The natives term it Genni, but the Arab traders Gheneoa. It a-

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\* Leo Africanus, a native of Grenada, was one of the Moorish exiles who fled to Barbary in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. He settled at Fez, where he acquired the Arabic language, and studied the geography of Africa, great part of which he afterwards traversed in a public character. Being captured near the coast of Tunis, he was carried to Rome, where he was converted to Christianity, and baptized by the name of John Leo. At Rome, he remained till he acquired the Italian language, into which he translated his African History from the original Arabic. His skill in geography procured him a pension from Pope Leo X.; but he is suspected of trusting common report in some cases, in which he alleges his personal evidence. Vid. Florian. Epist. ad Melchior. Schet Corvin. *prefat. in Lat. Vers. ejusdem Leon. Afric. Hist.*



“ bounds in barley, rice, cattle, fish, but especially  
“ in cotton, with which they trade with the in-  
“ habitants of Barbary and the Europeans. They  
“ use money of gold and iron, but without an in-  
“ scription. There is no city nor fortress, though  
“ there is one village of great extent, where the  
“ king, priests, and learned men reside. The in-  
“ habitants wear garments of black and blue cot-  
“ ton, with turbans of the same kind, but the  
“ learned men are dressed in white. This coun-  
“ try was formerly subject to the Lumpta Arabs,  
“ but was afterwards conquered by the king of  
“ Tombut. Marmol † also passed across the de-  
serts of Sahara from Barbary to Genehoa or  
Guinea, with the Shereef Mahomet, who sub-  
dued the western provinces of Africa; and re-  
lates that its inhabitants were originally Chris-  
tians. As the Negroes have, in every age, been  
extremely addicted to magical practices and sor-  
cery, it is not improbable that, from the name of  
this country, which was known to the original  
Arabian conquerors of Barbary, the Arabian *Gin*  
or *Genii*, so famous in their romances, may be  
derived. Ginnistan, or the country inhabited by

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† Marmol, a learned Spaniard, who was seven years a captive in Barbary, where he studied Arabic. He compos-  
ed a history of Africa in Spanish, in which, without acknow-  
ledgment, he has copied Leo, in every essential particular.  
His work was translated into French by D'Ablancourt.

the *Gin*, is generally placed beyond the arid deserts to the south of Egypt and Barbary. Europeans, more polished than the Arabs, have often believed in the infernal power of the *Obi* or the *Fetiche*; and the Arabs, who were themselves notoriously addicted to such practices, would naturally hold them in great veneration.

With the ancient empire of Guinea, *Gualata*, another kingdom mentioned by Leo and Marnos, has likewise disappeared in modern times. *Gualata*, according to these geographers, lay about 300 miles to the south of Cape Non, 500 miles to the west of Tombut or Tombuctoo, and about 100 miles from the Ocean, on the north of the Senegal. It had once been the capital of a Libyan nation, governed by an elective king, and the centre of an extensive commerce, which, at the conquest of *Gualata* by the Tombuctans, had been transferred to Tombuctoo and Gago. In the time of Leo it was subject to Tombuctoo; the sinews of government were relaxed, the people were relapsing into barbarism, and the country had become desert and barren. The inhabitants, termed by the ancient geographers *Malcoæ*, but, by the more modern, *Benais*, were of a black complexion, especially towards the south, and used the *Zunguay* or *Sungay* language. Ancient geographers mention three great and populous towns; but, when visited by Leo, *Hóden*, an irregular village, was the place of greatest population. This *Hóden* is laid down by

Sanuto, (in 1588) in N. Lat.  $19^{\circ} 30'$ , at the distance of six days journey from Cape Blanco ; and Cadamosta, in 1455, was informed that Hoden, or Whaden, was 70 leagues east of Arguin. Perhaps, in the modern Walet, the capital of Beervo, which, Mr Park was informed, lay about 240 G. miles to the eastward of Benowm, the capital of Ludama, and almost at an equal distance to the westward of Tombuctoo, we may recognize the ancient Gualata, the Ulil of Edrisi, and Oulili of Ibn al Wardi, mentioned as the principal city of Soudan, situated on the sea coast, and in possession of extensive salt-works.

*Ghinny*, termed by Abulfeda Edrisi and Ibn al Wardi, Ghana, or Ganah, is a central city in Africa, and capital of a kingdom, situated almost at equal distances from the Indian sea and the Atlantic, on the east and west ; and between the Mediterranean and the Ethiopic seas on the north and south. It is placed, by Major Remmel, in Lat.  $16^{\circ} 10'$  Long.  $13^{\circ} 2'$  east of Greenwich. He computes its distance from Germa in Fezzan, through Agadez, to be 700 miles, from Tombuctoo 652 miles, from Benin 760 miles, and from Dongola, as laid down by Bruce, 1118 miles. Ghinny now forms a province of Cassina or Cashina, which, according to the present political division of Africa, comprehends all the countries between Fezzan and the Niger, though unknown in the days of Edrisi, and probably forming a part of

the empire of Guinea. The great empires of Africa have generally derived their names from their capital cities, which, in many cases, retained their names, when their empires had shrunk into small states or provinces. Thus, the empire of Fez has sunk in that of Marocco; Ghinny, Walet, &c. in that of Tombuctoo, and, as Major Rennell conjectures, Tokrur in that of Moussa. Tokrur or Tekrur, the capital of the great central empire of Africa, in the time of Edrisi and Abulfeda, though not mentioned by Leo, seems to have existed down to his time, for it seems to have been the same with Tukorol, to which the Portuguese sent an ambassador in 1493. The ancient splendour of the empire of Guinea is determined by a fact mentioned by Du Barros. When the Portuguese, in 1469, discovered the coasts of Guinea, the king of Benin held his kingdom of the king of Ogane, or Ghana, his superior lord, to whose court, at the distance of 800 miles, he was obliged to send ambassadors for confirmation on his accession to the throne. The conjecture of Major Rennell is extremely probable, that Leo confounded Jenné, a large town situated in an island of the Niger, about 170 miles to the west of Tombuctoo, with the kingdom of Ghana, or Guinea, to the east, and by combining the accounts which he received of these two countries, introduced various contradictions into his narrative. Thus, he describes Gui-

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nea as a tract which is surrounded with water, like an island, during the inundations of the Niger, while he assigns it an arid sandy position, which is included in the Sahara. But it is equally probable, that this name of Jenné may be one of the vestiges of the ancient empire of Ghinny, extending in the direction of the Niger. As a proof of this position, we find that the Niger, both at Ghana, or Ghinny, and Tombuctoo, is denominated Jin, or Guin, and a large island, which lies between Tombuctoo and Jenné, is termed Jinbala, or Guinbala.

The Romans appear to have penetrated to the Niger; for Pliny mentions, that, like the Nile, it swelled periodically, and at the same season, and that its productions were also the same. He likewise relates, that Suetonius Paulinus, the first of the Romans who crossed Mount Atlas, made an expedition during winter, into the interior parts of Africa, and marched through deserts of black dust, and places uninhabitable from excessive heat, where the very rocks seemed to be scorched, till he reached a river called the Niger. It does not, however, appear that the Romans formed any permanent settlements among the Negroes. It is equally uncertain, whether the ancient and inveterate enemies of the Romans, the Carthaginians, ever penetrated beyond Arguin on the north of the Senegal; for the authenticity of the voyage of Hanno is still dubious. It is, however, very impro-

bable that a state, equally powerful and enterprising, which at one period engrossed, not only the commerce of Africa, but of the whole western world, should have neglected entirely those rich and fertile regions to which the Romans afterwards penetrated, by Fezzan, Gadamis, and Taboo. The decline of the Carthaginians was gradual, and probably the revolt of their interior provinces contributed no less to the ruin of Carthage than the arms of the Romans. That some of the interior regions of Africa derived their civilization from the exiled Carthaginians, is not unlikely ; and the fragments of the ancient Punic, preserved in the *Pœulus* of Plautus, has been interpreted in consistency with such an opinion, though, from the inaccuracy of the Punic text, and the absolute uncertainty of its signification, few persons would chuse to rely on so slender a surmise.

At a period comparatively modern, the coasts of Nigritia or Guinea were explored by the Portuguese, who occupied the greater part of a century in coasting timidly from promontory to promontory, and from bay to bay. Giles Nunez, in 1415, was the first who passed Cape Bojador, and it was 1497 before Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope. The priority of discovery is, however, disputed by the French, who pretend that the merchants of Dieppe visited these coasts so early as the year 1346. Two of their authors,

Villault\* and Robbé†, detail, at some length, the origin and progress of the French settlements at Elmina, Sestro Paris, Cabomonte, and Sierra Leona; and, like other historians of unknown or fabulous periods, endeavour to supply the deficiency of historical evidence by circumstantial minuteness of narration. The authorities by which these claims have been supported, are so nugatory as to be almost unworthy of attention. During the civil wars, say these authors, which occurred in the reign of Charles VI., it is true that these African settlements were entirely abandoned; but then there are various bays and towns on the Gold coast, which still retain their original French appellations, as Rio Fresco, or the Bay of France; Petit Dieppe, or Rio Corso; and Sestro Paris, or Grand Sestro,—on the Grain Coast. Besides, a certain bastion at Fort Elmina, after various revolutions, was denominated the French Bastion, and with good reason, since it plainly had a mutilated inscription, in which the cyphers 13 were very legible, which must have signified 1383. But this ingenious process of antiquarian reasoning is entirely confuted by the obstinate silence of both the

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\* Villault's Relation of the Coasts of Africa called Guinea, was published at London in 1670. He visited Guinea as Comptroller of the Europa, freighted from Amsterdam by the French West Indian Company. The author composed his work in French, and frequently copies Artus without acknowledgment.

† A French Geographer.

French and Portuguese historians, who would not have omitted so remarkable an event. The voyages of the merchants of Dieppe to Africa, must therefore be consigned to oblivion, with the voyages of the Venetian discoverers of America, lately preserved in St Mark's Library at Venice, or in Terra Incognita.

In all those regions, inhabited by nations who are rather in a state of rude simplicity than barbarism, priority of discovery is understood by the more refined and civilized nations, to confer, not only a territorial supremacy, but a right of a much more comprehensive kind, which extends to the persons, as well as the property, of the original possessors or inhabitants. The logic of the Portuguese was equally laconic and satisfactory. A subject of the crown of Portugal was the first *Christian* who entered these *infidel* countries, therefore these *infidel* countries belong to Portugal. In addition to this valid and conclusive argument, they urge another of a no less equivocal kind; the papal grant to the crown of Portugal, of all lands in Africa, discovered or to be discovered; which belonged, no doubt, to his Holiness, as God's vicegerent. But the Portuguese have not been the only Europeans who have exhibited towards the *infidels* of Africa such notable examples of *Christian* justice. In the year 1672, Charles II. was graciously pleased to give and to grant unto the Royal African Company of



England, " all and singular the lands, countries, havens, roads, rivers, and other places in Africa, from Sallee in South Barbary, to the Cape of Good Hope, for and during the term of 1000 years, with the sole, entire, and only trade and traffic, into and from the said countries and places." It is impossible to conceive any thing more foolishly ridiculous, or more wickedly unjust, than those transactions, the memory of which will always remain to brand with barbarism the civilization of those latter days of reason, as they have been proudly denominated. The relation of rude nations to those which are civilized, has been compared to that which subsist between children and parents. In virtue of this relation, a claim to the exercise of a species of authority over uncivilized tribes, has been asserted by their more refined neighbours. If the parallel be of any importance, this authority ought to be mild and humane, as that of a father over his children. But this paternal jurisdiction, as it has always been exercised, resembles the humanity of those Chinese parents, who expose their helpless offspring to be devoured by the swine. Instead of converting to purposes of utility that admiration and unbounded curiosity, which European refinement excited in their simple minds; instead of availing themselves of that propensity to imitation which rude tribes exhibit, for introducing the arts, sciences, and legitimate commerce, their desire of improve-

ment has been tantalized by attractive trifles, their ferocity has been exasperated by the introduction of spiritous liquors, their barbarity has been supplied with new incentives by the traffic in slaves, and enabled to act with greater energy by the supply of gun-powder. If the natives of those countries, where European factories or temporary settlements have been formed, have not been universally reduced to subjection, the amelioration of their manners and civil institutions has seldom been an object of attention. The process by which Europeans acquired their influence and established their commercial settlements among the inhabitants of Nigritia and Guinea, is well described by Alkeny, the chief of Ardra, in the early part of this century, in a speech which he made to the Dutch factors, who importuned him to allow them to build a house of stone : “ You will,” said this sagacious prince, “ perhaps at first build only a  
“ large strong stone house ; but, at another time,  
“ you will desire to inclose it with a strong stone  
“ wall ; afterwards, you will strengthen it with  
“ some great guns ; and thus, at last, you will  
“ render it so strong, that, with all my might, I  
“ shall not be able to remove you ; as you have  
“ done at Mina, and other parts of the Gold Coast,  
“ where your nation has gradually subdued whole  
“ nations, and made their kings tributaries and  
“ slaves. Therefore remain where you are, and  
“ be satisfied ;— You shall never have any other

“ house or building, in my territories, to carry  
“ on your trade, but such as shall be erected by  
“ my own people, of clay, as we usually build at  
“ Ardra, and that you shall hold and hire as ten-  
“ ants usually do.” The staple commodities of  
Africa, before the Dutch had entered into compe-  
tition with the Portuguese, before the sugar plan-  
tations had been established, and the European in-  
habitants of the West Indies had divested them-  
selves of their buccaneering character,—were gold,  
ivory, wax, gums, ostrich feathers, medicinal and  
dye-woods, which were purchased with glass-  
beads, coarse woollen cloths, brandy, and trinkets  
of brass and iron. But when the sugar-planta-  
tions in the West Indies had attained maturity,  
the trade in African produce gradually declined ;  
even those denominated wood-vessels, engaged, as  
far as possible, in the purchasing of slaves, and  
the influence of East and West Indian interest o-  
perated irresistibly in discouraging the importa-  
tion of raw materials, so that valuable commodi-  
ties have often been left to rot on the coast. “ If  
“ every man,” said Dr Smeathman, “ knew that  
“ his own happiness depended on making others  
“ happy, all mankind would soon be so.” It is  
difficult, however, to convince an individual, and  
almost impossible to convince any association of  
men, that self-interest is best promoted by genero-  
sity. The immense profits which have been de-  
rived from the slave-trade, in a period very short,

when compared with that which agriculture requires, will always attach those individuals to whom interest is a stronger motive than humanity. The operations of agriculture are slow and tedious, especially where cultivation has never arrived at great extent, the profits of commerce in raw materials, as well as manufactures, are gradual, though certain, always requiring perseverance and industry. To agriculture and the trade in raw commodities, the slave-trade bears the same relation, as the acquisition of wealth by robbery and rapine, to the acquisition of wealth by honest industry. It is not therefore surprising, that a traffic so much accommodated to the indolence, to the impatience, and to the ferocity of rude tribes, should have prevailed over the simple barter of productions raised by length of time and persevering labour. It is not surprising, that atrocious outrages and incredible barbarities have been often committed by traders equally illiterate and dissolute, when the man, who can collect around him two or three hundred people, acquires all the power and influence of an African chief. These traders, by introducing a general insecurity and anarchy, and by establishing a chain of factories along the coast, which mutually co-operate in accomplishing their plans; by connecting themselves with some of the chiefs, and securing their influence by granting extensive credit, have obtained a kind of empire over the western coast of Africa, which reaches

far into the interior districts of the country. These large credits, which are incompatible with ordinary commerce, and peculiar to the slave-trade, are its principal support, and legalize all its enormities. By distributing their goods among the chiefs, the traders acquire a right to seize both the chiefs and their subjects at some future period, without forfeiting their character, or violating the customs of Africa. If an African contract a debt, every person of the same community is liable to suffer the penalty of his failure; and the slave-trade, by the country-law denominated *Panyaring*, seizes, without discrimination, the wife or child of the debtor, an inhabitant of the same town, or a stranger that there has sought protection. At one time, a wife is sold by her husband to avoid the imminent danger of failure in credit, and is seen weeping in a slave-ship for the infant from which she was torn. At another, a free boy is sent with a message, seized for the debt of some inhabitant of the same town, and sold for a slave before he can be redeemed. The Africans, afraid of living as detached individuals, congregate in towns, under the protection of a chief, whom they call their father. He is corrupted by presents of liquor, and inveigled by the trader to receive goods upon credit: the slave-trader makes war upon the chief to recover the debt, and his people are killed or sold to the slave-vessels. A chief, who is indebted to the

traders, sails up a river, and lands at a town, under the pretext of friendship. He makes a speech to the chiefs and the inhabitants, expatiates on the shameful injustice of former traders, and declares that he intends to trade fairly with them as friends and brothers. He opens a puncheon of rum, and invites them to sit round and drink. At night, when the party is drunk, he causes them to be fettered, and carries them to the trader to redeem his credit. Free men are frequently purchased by the traders from those whom they know have no right to sell them, and every enormity is palliated by the individual, with the stale and silly pretext, that though he should renounce the practice, it would yet be continued by others. By these methods, the population on the coast has been much diminished, and the intercourse of towns and districts rendered dangerous: the people are rendered more barbarous than in the interior parts of the country, where there are many considerable towns that carry on an extensive trade, and have made great progress in civilization. It has been observed, by those who have attended most accurately to the dispositions and manners of the natives of the coast, that those who reside in the neighbourhood of the slave-factories, are most addicted to drunkenness, most suspicious of whites, most crafty, savage, and ferocious, as well as most selfish, unreasonable, and encroaching. Thus the slave-trade not only

debases the understanding, and degrades the moral character of the natives of Africa, but urges in its defence those very vicious propensities which it has fostered. These absurd aspersions on national character, which have, in the case of Africans, been thrown out with the vilest intentions, have excited the indignation of sensible natives more than all the injuries to which the sable race have been exposed. The late John Henry Naimbanna, son of the king of Sierra Leona, when in England, exhibited the most jealous sensibility where the honour of his country was concerned. A person, who had made a public assertion very degrading to the African character, being mentioned before him, he used some vindictive language; and the Christian duty of forgiving injuries being suggested to him, he made the following animated declaration:

If a man rob me of my money, I can forgive him; if a man should shoot at me, or try to stab me, I can forgive him; if a man should sell me and all my family to a slave-ship, so that we should pass all the rest of our days in slavery, in the West Indies, I can forgive him; but, (added he, rising from his seat with much emotion), if a man takes away the character of the people of my country, I never can forgive him. If a man should try to kill me, or should sell me and my family for slaves, he would do an injury to as many as he might kill or sell; but if any one

takes away the character of black people, that man injures black people all over the world ; and, when he has once taken away their character, there is nothing which he may not do to black people ever after. That man will beat black men, and say, O, it is only a black man, why should not I beat him? That man will make slaves of black people ; for, when he has taken away their character, he will say, O, they are only black people, why should not I make them slaves? That man will take away all the people of Africa, if he can catch them ; and if you ask him, But why do you take away all these people? he will say, O, they are only black people, they are not like white people, why should not I take them? That is the reason why I cannot forgive the man who takes away the character of the people of my country." The negro character certainly varies with the local peculiarities of education, manners, and habits ; some nations are more crafty, more ferocious, and uncivilized than others ; but they are neither incurably stupid, ignorant, nor wicked ; nor can they be charged with greater enormities than other nations in the same state of civilization. As the process of deterioration has been going on without intermission for about two centuries, it ought not to excite our surprise, if the negro character had even acquired a peculiar degree of malignancy. The emotions in the breast of the savage derive a degree of wildness



and ferocity from the ruggedness of the objects which surround him ; numerous objects affect his mind, which do not injure his person ; and whatever acts upon the moral frame, tends to establish a physical habit. The expression of the features is gradually moulded to characterize the predominant passion, and every affection of the corporeal system re-acts upon the animating mind. Should therefore the negro character have actually degenerated, this would not constitute an anomalous fact in the history of man. Where the intellectual powers are left uncultivated, the passions acquire superior energy and violence. The understanding is much less cultivated among the Negroes than among Europeans ; but their passions, whether benevolent or malevolent, are proportionably more violent. No people are more sensible of disrespect, contempt, or injury, and none are more prompt or violent in resenting them. But though their tempers are violent, they are not unmanageable : Though addicted to hatred and revenge, they are equally susceptible of love, affection, and gratitude. In maternal, filial, and fraternal affection, they must be allowed to surpass Europeans ; though the ardour of their paternal and conjugal affections be damped by the practice of polygamy, which cannot fail to dissipate the energies of the most tender passions. To unprotected strangers their hospitality is liberal, disinterested, and free from ostentation ; to

white persons in whom they have confidence, their partiality is excessive, extending even to their dress, commodities, and manners. It is true, that in those districts where the slave-trade chiefly prevails, the inhabitants are shy and reserved, and always carry arms in their hands ; but this is the necessary effect of that insecurity which the practice of kidnapping has introduced. It is true, that in their intercourse with Europeans, both fraud and violence are often displayed ; but these are the consequence of the frauds of Europeans, and their own inaccurate notions of property. As the Europeans practise every species of injustice, not only with respect to the quantity of trading goods, but also by their adulteration ; as they use every degree of fraud and violence in trepanning their persons,—the natives, in order to trade on equal terms, are forced to resort to a similar conduct. Their ideas with respect to property are very different from those of Europeans. Occupied chiefly by their natural wants, they easily part with their superfluities to those who may want them. In their rude arts there is no division of labour ; in the cultivation of their fields, there is not even an individuality. The inhabitants of every district carry on their agricultural operations in concert, and share, in common, the products of their harvest. From this arrangement, the idea of a common interest is continually suggested to the canton or district ;

but the idea of exclusive property is at the same time rendered more indefinite and vague. The unlimited exercise of the law of hospitality renders the possession of property more useless, as well as more uncertain, as the industrious are forced to share their superfluities with the indolent. If a person has been negligent in providing the necessities of life, he has only to discover where there is provision, and he must obtain a share. If he enter a house during a repast, and give the usual salutation, the master must invite him to partake. The laws of hospitality are not restricted to diet; and begging is not reckoned disgraceful. Those who are indolent in the occupations of planting or hunting, commonly display no greater activity in trade. These savage philosophers are strenuous advocates for *equality of property*, and are convinced that no person has a right to enjoy any superfluity which is needed by another. The consequence of this sublime doctrine is, that if an industrious man procures a spare shirt, a pair of trowsers, or any kind of utensil, the first person to whom its possession would be convenient, may demand its resignation with the utmost propriety. In this case, the possessor dare not give a simple refusal; *he must talk the palaver*, or reply to the reasons which the beggar offers, with others for its detention. When the pleaders on both sides happen to be eloquent, the subject is often worn useless by the

possessor, before the cause can be terminated. Thus there are few motives for personal assiduity, as the rich are only the stewards of the poor. In a rude state, man is rather made for feeling than thinking. To relieve the listlessness, occasioned by the absence of powerful external impressions, when the resource of industry fails, from the deficiency of motives to exertion, he is apt to have recourse to the artificial exhilaration which intoxication produces. In a state of intoxication, reason and propriety of conduct desert the most refined and civilized men, but the brutal propensities of the savage are aggravated to diabolical frenzy. In this frantic state, the negro chiefs have often been induced to make bargains most prejudicial to their interests, and to issue orders most fatal to their subjects, that in their sober hours they would gladly retract.

Though on the coast of Africa, from Arguin to Adél, numerous commercial establishments have been formed by different nations since it was first discovered by the Portuguese, the natives of all those countries have been suffered to remain in their original rude state. Till lately, the Portuguese were the only nation that, with their subjugation, had attempted their improvement. The Portuguese did not confine themselves to trading factories, but formed large colonies under a regular government on the coasts. They attempted to instruct the natives in the cultivation of their

soil, and taught them a religion which tended to soften their manners as well as to reform their morals. In Loango, Congo, Angola, and Benguela, they have been so sedulous in the conversion of the negroes, that they are believed to have made them better Christians than themselves. From Benin, Guinea, and Negritia, they were expelled by the other European powers, co-operating with the natives, before their establishments had acquired solidity. They have still various factories in these countries; and, at different places of the coast, a mongrel race are found, who boast their Portuguese extraction, though they have adopted the manners of the negroes and their modes of life. In colour they are hardly distinguishable from the darkest negroes; a fact which seems to show, that Europeans, adopting the negro manner of life, would in time acquire the negroe hue. In several of these countries, the Portuguese missions, from the want of a steady and persevering support, have experienced a great declination of influence. Their nation, however, has the credit of trading in African produce to greater extent than any other nation, and of carrying on the slave-trade with as much humanity as it is possible to unite with so inhuman a traffic. Their slave-vessels are never crowded, and are navigated chiefly by black mariners, who sympathize more with the sufferings of their countrymen than the

whites. Before the slaves are shipped, they are catechized and receive the rite of baptism.

The pernicious effects of European commerce on the manners and morals, on the security and happiness; of the Africans, has begun to be perceived by the natives themselves; many of whom, though occasionally engaged in the slave-trade, have expressed their joy at the prospect of its abolition. They not only complain of the frauds and the impositions of the whites, but of the general insecurity they have introduced. So early as the year 1787, the chief of Almammy not only prohibited the slave-trade in his own territories, but refused to allow the French to march their slaves from Gallam through his country, so that they were obliged to change their route. As a Marabout, having in his youth received an education superior to that of other black princes, he rendered himself entirely independent of the whites, ransomed his subjects when seized by the Moors, and encouraged them to raise cattle, to cultivate the land, and to practise all kinds of industry. Falconbridge's character of the negroes is unquestionably just: "They feast," said he, "round graves; and were they to see their country in flames, they would cry, let it burn, without interrupting their singing, dancing, or drinking. They are equally insensible of grief and necessity: They sing till they die, and dance into the grave." In spite

of this insensibility, or rather levity of character, they have learned to estimate the character of the traders. Though those who are immediately concerned in the slave-trade say, "It is very good for black man to love white man, and not hurt but make trade with him, because white man's ships bring all the good things and strong liquors into black man's country;" yet the most discerning scruple not to declare, that wherever white man comes, there comes a sword, a gunpowder, and ball. They are desirous of educating their children in *white man's fashion*, that he may read book and learn to be *rogue*, so well as white man; for, say they, if white man not read, he be no *better rogue* than black man. Thus it appears that all intercourse with the negroes, as it has been carried on upon commercial principles, has tended uniformly to the debasement of their understandings, and the degradation of their moral natures; every kind of connection has been fatal, like the touch of the putrid side of the gigantic devil, in which the negroes of Anto, on the Gold Coast, believe. This circumstance has induced some of the *friends of humanity*, who have interested themselves in the fate of the African nations, to regard with extreme suspicion the introduction of every species of commercial speculation into those systems of colonization which have been founded upon principles of humanity. But surely every method, by which the curiosity of the sa-

vage may be roused, and his industry excited, without calling his malevolent passions into exertion, must ultimately tend to the amelioration of his social state. Agriculture is the principle of vitality in a colony, but the production of the raw materials of manufacture, or the acquisition of the materials of exchange and barter, constitutes its credit, and creates its influence as a province or a nation\*.

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\* *Leo. Afric.*; *Rennell's Geogr. Illustr. of Africa*; *Barbot's Guinea*; *Smith's Voyage to Guinea*; *Bosman's Description of Guinea*; *Matthew's Voyage to the Coast of Africa*; *Falconbridge's Two Voyages to Sierra Leona*; *Wadstrom's Essay on the Colonization of the Western Coast of Africa*.



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## CHAP IX.

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THE SWEDISH DESIGN OF AN AGRICULTURAL COLONY—  
ACCOUNT OF CAPE MONTE AND CAPE MESURADO—THE  
EMPIRE OF MONOSI—THE QUOJAS—CHARACTER OF  
WADSTROM—DANISH SETTLEMENT AT AQUAPIM.

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FROM the discovery of West Africa by the Portuguese to the latter part of the 18th century, the same iniquitous commercial principles continued to regulate the intercourse of white men with their sable brethren, to degrade the negro, and disgrace the European. The immense edifice of slavery still continued to insult the eyes of the sons of freedom; and, undeterred by the groans of anguish, the clanking of chains, and the echo of the whip that resounded through the pile, free men wounded deeply the liberties which they boasted, by assuming the lash of the taskmaster. Who first attempted to demolish the infernal prison-house, and to raise over its ruins the temple of freedom? Who first attempted to vindicate insulted humanity, and to burst the chains which the sanction of ages had rivetted? The Swedish nation may claim the glory of forming the first

specific plan for alleviating the evils which the inhuman man-trade has occasioned in Africa ; and the Danes of carrying into execution the first agricultural establishment, for instructing the negroes in the cultivation of their fertile soil, and teaching them to avenge their wrongs on the abettors of slavery, by rearing a bulwark for freedom in the Land of Slaves.

The Swedish design of establishing a colony in Africa, which, by its original organization, might exclude every political, financial, and mercantile principle, which appeared to be inconsistent with the happiness of mankind, though it only terminated in exploring a part of that continent, originated in the purest and most disinterested motives. In the year 1779, some members of a society formed for diffusing those principles of civilization which appeared to be best calculated for promoting social order and general happiness, met at Norrköping in Sweden, to consider the colonization and cultivation of waste lands in Europe, upon philanthropical principles. What seemed impracticable in Europe, from the jarring interests and fluctuating politics of her powers,—the erection of a community, who might have the privilege of enacting its own laws, coining of its own money, and exempting its members from imprisonment for debt,—was deemed practicable on the western coast of Africa. To the execution of this plan, which had a more extensive object than even the

emancipation of the negro race, the most formidable obstacle appeared to be the opposition which it would necessarily receive from the slave-trade ; a specific plan was however formed, and a charter, empowering 40 families to settle on the western coast of Africa, under the protection of Sweden, to organize their own government, to enact their own laws, and to establish a society entirely independent of Europe, was procured from his Swedish Majesty *Gustavus III.* through the influence of the Chamberlain *Ulric Nordenskiöld*. The only conditions annexed to those privileges were, that the society should defray the expences of their expedition and establishment, and not infringe the territories possessed or claimed by other European powers. The execution of this plan was, for some time, retarded by the American war ; but, as it was judged expedient, as a preparatory step, to explore West Africa, the Association entered into engagements with the mercantile house of *M. Chauvell* of Havre de Grace, to conduct an expedition of discovery at their joint expence. In this expedition embarked *Wadstrom*, who was an enthusiast with respect to colonization ; *Sparrman* and *Arrhenius*, who were enthusiasts in natural science ; while the enthusiasm of their joint-employer *M. Chauvell*, coincided entirely with the financial views of his Swedish Majesty, who loved gold much better than any other natural production. These adventurers left Sweden in May

1787, on their journey to Paris, where, through the representations of Baron Stael von Holstein, Swedish ambassador, after some delay, they procured from the Mareschal de Castries, minister at war and of the colonies, orders to the superintendants of all the French factories, as well as their consuls on the coast of Barbary, to afford them every possible assistance at the expence of government. They sailed from Havre de Grace, in August 1787, and arrived at Gorce about the end of the rainy season, where they were received by the Chevalier de Boufflers with the utmost politeness. His departure to Europe, soon after their arrival, rendered abortive their expectations of assistance from the agents of the Senegal Company, who refused to furnish them with those goods which were absolutely necessary for their proposed expedition into the interior parts of the country. The general war, which the rapacious and oppressive monopoly exercised by the Senegal Company, whose cupidity even extended to parrots and natural curiosities, had provoked the most powerful negro nations to declare against the French, rendered the interior entirely inaccessible. These unexpected and irresistible events obliged Wadstrom and his companions to return to Europe, with the observations they had made on the coast, and the oral information they had been able to procure concerning the interior regions. To these travellers, Cape Verd appeared to be the most e-

ligible situation for a new colony, but it was claimed by the French, who had twice purchased the whole peninsula. Almost surrounded by the sea, abounding in bold elevations, and rich vallies watered with springs, it seemed to be as healthful, fertile, and defensible, as any part of that coast, within a convenient distance from Europe. After Cape Verd, the most proper situations seemed to be Cape Monte and Cape Mesourado. These districts have been described by Des Marchais\*, Villault, Philips†, Atkins‡, Bosman§, and Smith||,

\* The Voyage of the Chevalier des Marchais to Guinea, the adjacent islands, and Cayenne, in 1725, -6, -7, was published by Labat at Amsterdam in 1731, in 4 vols. 8vo, with maps by D'Anville. The Chevalier appears to have been a man of great ability, and an adept in drawing, geometry, and navigation. His engaging address, and knowledge of the numerous languages on the coast, enabled him to gratify his curiosity, by applying to the original sources of information, without hazard of imposition. His observations chiefly relate to the Gold Coast, and the kingdoms of Whidah and Ardra.

† The Journal of a Voyage along the coast of Guinea to Whidah, the island of St Thomas, and thence to Barbadoes, in 1693, -4, by Captain Thomas Philips, contains many curious observations on the country, the people, their manners, forts, trade, &c. but is exceedingly verbose, and crowded with minute nautical remarks on the winds, and the course of sailing. It is inserted in the 6th vol. of Churchill's Collection of Voyages.

‡ Atkins Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West Indies, in his Majesty's ship the Swallow, of which the author was surgeon, was published at London in 1737. He makes many curious remarks on the colour, manners, habits, language, customs, and religions of the negroes, and denies the existence of cannibals among them.

§ Bosman

as pleasant, salubrious, and fertile. Cape Monte is represented as the paradise of Guinea, watered with rivulets and springs, spreading in vast meadows and plains, interrupted by groves, perpetually green, the leaves of which resemble laurel. Rice, millet, and maize, are produced in greater abundance than in any other part of Guinea ; and orange, lemon, almond, and palm-trees, are the spontaneous productions of the soil. It is placed, by D'Anville, in  $7^{\circ} 40'$  N. Lat. Cape Mesurado, which lies at the distance of 16 leagues from Cape Monte, is a detached mountain, steep and elevated towards the sea, with a gentle declivity on the land side. The summit forms a level plain. It lies in N. Lat.  $6^{\circ} 34'$ . The adjacent country is extremely fertile, producing sugar-canes, indigo, and cotton without cultivation, with red-wood of the best quality. The natives are of a large size,

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§ Bosman was chief factor at the Dutch fort of St George D'Elmina, and composed, about the beginning of the present century, a Description of the Coast of Guinea, divided into the Gold, Slave, and Ivory Coasts, in the Dutch language, which was soon translated into English. His observations are generally exact, though never profound, and he often affects a kind of broad Dutch humour, which bears the same proportion to genuine wit as the song of a frog to that of a nightingale.

|| Smith's Voyage to Guinea, was printed at London in 1745. It seems to have been compiled from some imperfect materials left by Mr Smith, who was Surveyor to the Royal African Company, and the accounts of other authors, particularly Bosman, from whom the account of Benin is copied.

strong, and well proportioned ; their mien is bold and martial ; their courage intrepid, and they are tenacious and jealous of their liberty. They think justly, speak correctly, and perfectly understand their own interest, and are therefore fond of gain, while they appear very disinterested. Their friendship is constant, their affection to their children tender, and they are much more jealous of the chastity of their married than their unmarried women. Their women cultivate the fields in concert, educate their children with great care, and exert themselves to acquire and retain the affection of their husbands. More happy than many of their neighbours, they unite elegance with convenience in the construction of their houses, their furniture, and domestic utensils, as well as their manner of eating. The poverty of their language and the paucity of their ideas, deprive them of the pleasures of lively and variegated conversation, and this deficiency will not be supplied by the prevalent practice of polygamy. The purity of the air, the goodness of the water, the fertility of the soil, and the aversion of the natives to war, and to the slave-trade, render the country extremely populous. Their religion is a kind of idolatry, confused, and void of certain principles. Their fetiches change with their caprice, and seem to be regarded by many as a mere species of household furniture. A negro told Villault, that white men

worshipped God, but black men prayed to the Devil, to avert the evil which he caused. When Snock enquired what religion the inhabitants of Cape Monte professed, they answered, that it consisted in obeying their chiefs, without troubling themselves about what was above them. The sun is the general object of their adoration, but their worship is voluntary, and unaccompanied with magnificent ceremonies. This description of a people is favourable, if compared with some of the adjacent regions, "where," to use the plain expressions of Loyer ¶, who visited Issini, on the Gold Coast, in 1701, "we meet with kingdoms whose monarchs are peasants, towns that are built of nothing but reeds, sailing vessels formed out of a single tree : — where we meet with nations who live without care, speak without rule, transact business without writing, and walk about without clothes : — people, who live partly in the water like fish, and partly in the holes of the earth like worms, which they resemble in nakedness and insensibility." The length of the river Mesurado is unknown, but it originates in a rich country, which the negroes term Alam, or the country of god.

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¶ Godfrey Loyer, apostolical prefect of the Jesuit Missions to the Coast of Guinea, published at Paris, in 1714, a Relation of a Voyage to the kingdom of Issini or Assinee, on the Gold Coast of Guinea, with a description of the country, the temper, manners, and religion of the natives.



The petty districts on the coast are represented, in the early part of this century, as dependant upon the Quoians, who are subject to the more powerful nation of Folgians, that in their turn acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor of Monou. The manners and customs of the Quoians and Folgians, with whom the Europeans have had considerable intercourse, have been described by various authors, but vague report alone has mentioned the inhabitants of Monou, without pretending to assign the boundaries of its empire. Whether the tribes of Monou be related to those who inhabit the extensive inland empire of Monœmugi in South Africa, is as impossible to be determined, though such an event is not improbable, as the boundaries of Monœmugi have often extended to Congo and Ansiko. The system of successive dependance which subsists among the appendages of this empire, if accurately described, is unparalleled in history. The country to the interior of Cape Monte is inhabited by the Quoians, whose authority, in the beginning of this century extended over Silm, Balam, and Balamberre. In their cantons or villages the seniors preside; but the chief of the nation is invested with absolute power, and extremely tenacious of his prerogatives. Ambassadors from other nations are received with great formality, rich processions, and music. The retinue of the ambassadors recite verses in praise of his Quoian Ma-

jesty, whose subjects return the compliment to the foreign sovereignty. The king of Quoja is styled the destroyer, the works of whose hands no person can imitate, who sticks like grease, pitch, or sulphur, to the backs of such as dare resist him. The Quoians acknowledge a supreme Being, to whom they attribute infinite power, universal knowledge, and ubiquity of nature, and whom they denominate Kanno. From him proceeds all good; but he is not eternal, for he is succeeded by another *being*, or *light*, who comes to punish the wicked and reward the virtuous. They venerate the spirits of the dead, whom they term *Jannaanin*, or protectors, who are believed to reside in the sacred groves. To these they offer rice, palm, wine, and the blood of animals. In every emergency, the Quoian flies to the graves of his ancestors, or the sacred groves, where their spirits reside, and with loud cries invokes their assistance, and that of Kanno. These sacred woods, to which provisions are carried thrice in the year, for the sustenance of the *Jannaanin*, it is sacrilege for maids, women, and children, to enter. They celebrate the new moons by orgies, and a recess from labour, and think that their rice would assume a red colour were these ceremonies to be neglected.

In this and the adjacent kingdoms, two curious associations subsist, which resemble masonic fraternities in mysticism and mummery, of which

the one is appropriate to men, and the other to women. The first, of which the king is the visible superior, is termed THE SOCIETY OF THE BELLI, under the direction of an awful mysterious being, denominated the BELLI, which changes its form according to the pleasure of the high priest. The uninitiated are excluded from all public offices of trust and profit, and the unskilful are objects of public scorn, and jeered by the women as having wasted their time in eating rice. The meetings of the society do not always continue, but are renewed at an interval of 20 years. At the meetings of the fraternity, a space of eight or nine miles in circumference is marked out in a wood of palm-trees, for the building of huts and the clearing of plantations. Thither all the young men resort, under the care of the seniors, their instructors, to spend their noviciate, which continues five years. During this period, they are taught to fight, to fish, to plant, to hunt, to dance the appropriate dances, and sing the Belli-dong, or praises of the Belli, which, in modesty of expression, much resemble the verses of the Sahi. They are rigidly prohibited from wearing clothes, from passing the circumscribed bounds, or conversing with any but the initiated brethren, and for this offence no palliation is admitted. No female is permitted to approach the consecrated grove, under the penalty of being destroyed by the Belli with excruciating torments. At initia-

tion, the young men receive new names, as signs of their new birth, and are imprinted with the mark of the Belli, which resembles the cicatrices of nails, running from the ear to the shoulder, formed by ignited iron instruments. At the conclusion of the appointed period, they are delivered by their instructors to their relations, and are received with great ceremony, as their return is considered as an introduction into public life.

The second, which is denominated the association of the Nessoge, Sandi, or the confederacy of the Hen, is confined to females, and is almost the counterpart of the other. A number of huts is prepared in a remote wood, to which the access of men is prohibited. Thither the young marriageable girls are conducted during the night by the matron under whose care they are placed. After the festival of initiation, they are bathed in a rivulet; their hair is cut off; they suffer the religious ceremony of excision, and remain naked during their abode in this recess. In this solitude, when the body is subdued by pain, and the mind softened by the still gloom of the deep forests, they are taught the religious customs and superstitions of their country. When the time of their noviciate, which continues four months, is expired, they return by night to their respective towns, where they are received by all the women, young and old, quite naked, who parade the streets in a kind of irregular procession,

with various instruments of national music, till break of day. Any man whom curiosity should prompt to witness the procession, if discovered, would suffer death, or redeem himself by a slave. The similarity of these processions to the orgies of Peor, Priapus and Bacchus, &c. as well as of the particular religious rites, it were easy to trace by a comparison with the accounts of ancient historians. The association of Belli, as the greater part of the members reckon its mysteries unfathomable, takes fast hold of the minds of men, and has a very considerable civil influence.

In every district there is a chief man belonging to the order, who can denounce the orders of the Belli, which are termed the Purrah laws. The association takes cognizance of the crimes of murder, witchcraft, and adultery, and punishes delinquents by carrying them off, by disguised persons, to the dreadful wood of Belli, sacred to the Jannaanin, where they are never more heard of, nor their names mentioned. The association are believed to possess the power of devils, and to be able to do any mischief they please, without being affected themselves. As they hold in their hands the power of the Jannaanin, their actions are never the subject of subsequent enquiry. The Purrah or Paaro terminates all quarrels, as no blood must be shed while it continues in force. The Quojas believe in magic, and in the existence of various kinds of sorcerers. One kind, termed

Pilli, are supposed to controul the seasons, and prevent the rice from arriving at maturity, while another are termed Sovah Mûnûsin, poisoners and blood-suckers, who suck the blood of men and beasts, and occasion all kinds of diseases. When a person dies, and there are any suspicions of violence or sorcery, the corpse is interrogated. For this purpose, the deceased is laid on an open bier, wrapped in a white cloth, and borne upon the heads of six young people, male or female, according to the pleasure of the corpse, who signifies his approbation or disapprobation to move to the place of burial, which is always a bush or large tree without the town. When they arrive at the place of burial, a friend or relation of the deceased places himself five or six paces before the bier, and thus addresses the deceased. "You are now a dead man; you know you are no longer alive, and as one of us; you know you are placed upon the sticks, the bier of God Almighty, and that you must answer truth." He then enquires what made him die; whether he knew of his own death; and whether it was occasioned by witchcraft or poison: for they universally believe that no person dies without having a previous knowledge of his own death, except his death be caused by poison, or the more powerful charms of another person. The corpse answers in the affirmative, by forcibly impelling the bearers several paces forward, by a power

which, they say, they are unable to resist; and in the negative by a rolling motion. They then enquire concerning the murderer, commencing with his relations, and naming the suspected persons. If it be one of his relations, the corpse remains silent for some time, as if unwilling to accuse them. When the deceased has declared the murderer, he is desired to be certain of the person, and requested to strike the hand which holds the bough. Upon this, the corpse impels the bier forward, and strikes the bough which the person holds in his hand. If the death of the deceased was caused by sorcery, the culprit, and sometimes his whole family, are seized and sold for slaves; if by poison, the accused is allowed to escape to the next town, where he claims the protection of the head man, asserts his innocence; in proof of which he desires to drink the red water, a poisonous liquid, formed from the roots of plants and the barks of trees, of a deleterious quality. The accused is placed upon a high chair, stripped of his common apparel, and a quantity of plantain leaves wrapped round his waist, and, in presence of the whole town, eats a little rice, and drinks the poisoned water, to the quantity of five or six quarts. If he escapes unhurt, and no evacuation by vomiting, &c. is excited, and he vomits the rice unchanged by the digestive powers of the stomach, at the same hour next day he is judged innocent, and brings a palaver for defamation against

the friends of the deceased. But, during the interval of his trial, he is obliged to join in the singing and dancing, which is made for his escape.

If a person is accused of witchcraft, whom they cannot, or dare not sell, on account of his age or family, he is carried to a field without the town, and obliged to dig his own grave. During the formation of the grave, while he measures its length and breadth, by the dimensions of his own body, the people around him say, "You deal in death, and can make other people die, you must now taste of it yourself;" while the condemned retorts, "It is true I did kill such a person, and many others, and, if I lived, I would kill many more." The delinquent is then placed at the foot of the grave; a person behind strikes him a violent blow upon the nape of the neck, which causes him to fall with his face into the grave; a little loose earth is then thrown upon him, and a stake of hard wood driven through his body: the grave is filled up, and his name is never more mentioned. The similarity of the trials of innocence by the red water, to the trials by the bitter water of jealousy, among the Jews, is sufficiently obvious.

The Folgias, among whom respect to a superior is indicated by appearing with the head covered, resemble the Q&ojas in their laws, customs, and manners.



That the Swedish design of agricultural colonization proved abortive, must be regretted by every person of humanity ; for, though it originated in ideas of extravagant philanthropy, depended for its support upon persons of opposite views, and could never have realized the sanguine expectations of the founders ; yet, when we consider the rude simplicity of the Africans, the romantic nature of the plan was perhaps the very circumstance which would have ensured its success. The exclusion of artificial credit, a practice so averse to the ideas of Europeans, would not shock the prejudices of Africans, among whom the rights of property are vague and indeterminate ; and peculiarity of customs, when once introduced, would be the most powerful support of the institution. A system, approximating to equality of property, could have produced in an infant colony none of those violent convulsions that have deprived the French of every possible advantage that could have accrued from the destruction of despotism, and united the name of liberty with every epithet of horror and detestation.

Charles Berns Wadstrom was born at Stockholm in the year 1746. After finishing his academical studies, he entered as engineer into the service of his Swedish Majesty. From his knowledge in mechanics and mineralogy, a part of the works that were erecting, in order to render navigable the cataract of Trochaitta, was confided to

his care, in 1767 and 1768. In 1769, he was employed in conducting the working of the copper-mines at Arvidaberg. He was afterwards engaged in the direction of various establishments, and had frequent personal intercourse with the King of Sweden, before his African expedition. At his return to Europe, Arrhenius went directly to Sweden; but Wadstrom, with his friend Sparrman, went to London, where the question of the abolition of the slave-trade had begun to be agitated in Parliament. They were summoned before the British Privy-Council, and repeatedly examined. Wadstrom, who had obtained permission to remain in England during this important discussion, produced the journal of daily transactions which he had kept in Africa, to vouch for the fidelity of his report. His evidence was considered as highly curious, useful, and interesting, and frequently referred to in the parliamentary debates. The opinions he delivered concerning the abolition of the slave-trade, and the establishment of philanthropic colonies, gave rise to the settlements of Sierra Leona and Boulama, which may be considered as monuments erected to humanity, by the friends of mankind. During his stay in London, the war between Russia and Sweden commenced, and deprived him of all hopes of assistance in his colonial project from that quarter; but, at the same time, a much more favourable prospect opened in England. Wad-

strom's applications to the British ministry were so effectually supported by persons of the first respectability, that, in 1789, a vessel was ordered to be equipped for an expedition to discover the best situations for colonies on the western coast of Africa. This voyage was interrupted by the contest with Spain concerning Nootka Sound; and after Captain Roberts had waited a considerable time for orders, he was ordered to sail on a secret expedition. In 1789 he published a small tract, compiled from his journals, entitled, "Observations on the Slave-trade, in a voyage to the coast of Guinea," containing much interesting information concerning his African expedition. From the year 1790, to the commencement of the *Republican war*, the precarious state of European politics prevented him from forming any new colonial arrangements, and death terminated all his plans before the peace of Europe was restored. But during the interval between his death and his return from Africa, he did not renounce his favourite scheme of colonization. Having, while he resided in Africa, been struck with the inclination of the Negroes to spin and weave cotton, and having been surprised at their perseverance and success, with the most imperfect machinery, he engaged in the cotton-manufacture at Manchester, in order to acquire such a knowledge of the business as might qualify him for instructing

the natives of Africa. In 1794, he published, in 4to, "An essay on colonization, particularly applied to the western coast of Africa, with some free thoughts on cultivation and commerce, and brief descriptions of the colonies already formed, or attempted." Of this work, Buonaparte is said to have carried a copy with him, when he departed on his Egyptian expedition. As the difficulty of communication between France and England rendered it almost impossible to procure a copy, he was presented with the only remaining one in the possession of the author, then residing at Paris. This expedition, which in future times will be censured or applauded, according to its ultimate success, which the laws of nations and the faith of treaties must condemn, but which the laws of that aggrandizing patriotism, which, in ancient times, characterized the Romans, and, in modern, the Russians, must approve, was beheld with triumph by Wadstrom, who believed that the civilization of Africa, and the liberty of Asia, depended on its success. He saw the French in possession of Egypt, but his days were terminated by a pulmonary consumption, in less than a year after the arrival of Buonaparte in that country.

Those who condemn, with the greatest bitterness, the political opinions of Wadstrom, must, in their hearts, venerate the active benevolence of his character. His errors were, the diseases of too tender a sensibility, the excessive confidence of too li-

beral a spirit, the unbounded benevolence of too warm a heart. His heart seemed more enlarged than his understanding, his feelings were always in the right, though his judgment was often in the wrong. His philanthropic schemes were generally romantic, and often delusive ; his sanguine expectations and simplicity of heart, often made him the dupe of his own credulity. It is now the fashion to decry, with every term of virulence, and in one indiscriminate mass, all those who approve, or have approved of the French Revolution. Yet, surely, there were many persons of the purest benevolence, of the most humane and upright views, persons whose souls were sickened by contemplating, with vain regret, the miseries and wretchedness which they could not relieve, who beheld its commencement with supreme pleasure, its progress, at first, with anxiety and chagrin, and afterwards with deep detestation and abhorrence. It is equally injurious and unjust, to confound these humane and benevolent men, who credulously expected an *equality of happiness*, instead of an absurd *equality of property*, to be produced by the revolutionizing system, with those votaries of anarchy and confusion, whose rapacious hands, and unfeeling hearts, have marked the paths of Revolution with murder and blood. With the former class, few will scruple to rank the benevolent Wadstrom, though he seems to have retained, to the last, his ideas of the ultimate

consequences of the French Revolution, with the same credulous simplicity which is said to have prompted him to seek for the New Jerusalem of Swedenborg, amid the unexplored regions of Africa. His essay on colonization contains an immense collection of materials on that subject, with a particular reference to Africa, combined in no judicious or luminous order, but containing almost every observation, new or old, trite or original, which seemed to be intimately connected with the subject. Theoretical speculations, practical observations, original documents, and citations from authors, are immethodically produced, and lose much of their value from their inartificial arrangement. His style is loose, tedious, and full of repetition, his reflections are often original, but the relations of his ideas are seldom accurately defined. Yet Wadstrom, in contributing to the emancipation of the Negroes, was likewise the benefactor of the Europeans; "for," as Helen Maria Williams remarks in her *eloque*, "the dignity of human nature, violated in the person of the slave, is avenged by the consequent depravity of his master. Even the softer sex, who seem born to soothe, with sympathizing tears, the miseries of humanity, in those regions, where slavery prevails, display the monstrous contrast of weakness and ferocity, of voluptuous indolence, and active cruelty, of a frame enervated by the refinements of luxury, and a heart hardened by

“familiarity with crimes.” This account of Wadstrom may be properly closed, with the following instance of his active benevolence. A son of the king of Mesurado had been basely decoyed from his father by an English vessel, and carried first to Sierra Leona, and afterwards to the West Indies. Upon being recognized by his countrymen and companions in slavery, he was purchased by a mulatto trader of Grenada, and brought to England, which was beginning to be agitated by the question concerning the abolition of the slave-trade. But, as this merely mercantile speculation disappointed the projector, he was taking measures to convey the unfortunate African prince back to the West Indies, when the design was discovered by Wadstrom, who redeemed him at his own cost. The young man was placed in an Academy at Mitcham in Surry, to be instructed in the rudiments of Christianity, and such branches of education as he could comprehend, and was baptized, December 25. 1788. He continued at Mitcham two years and an half, but died of a consumption in October 1790, about the age of 19 or 20 years. He was obedient and docile, though not endowed with extraordinary powers, fond of agriculture, and a moderate proficient in reading and writing. Though acquainted with European customs, he retained an invincible propensity for those simple manners to which he had been accustomed in his native country.

What the benevolent Wadstrom was unable to accomplish, was effected by the Danes, through the indefatigable exertions of Dr Isert. The mass of information, concerning Africa, which he had accumulated, appeared to be so interesting to the Danish ministry, that he was directed to return, to make observations on the country. His report was so favourable, that he was then empowered to pitch upon an eligible situation for a colony, and to make the experiment, if he should deem it to be practicable. Dr Isert intended to have made his first attempt on a large and beautiful island in the river Volta; but, being opposed by the natives, through the machinations of the white slave-traders, he fixed upon the mountains of Aquapim, 60 miles above Acra, at the same distance from the western bank of the Volta, which is navigable to the latitude of the colony, and about 30 miles from the river Pony, which is navigable for canoes. The situation is reckoned disadvantageous for commerce, but more salubrious than any other part of the coast. Dr Isert, in his letters to his father, published in 1788, declares, that the natives of Aquapim live in a state of social harmony, which inspired him with the idea of paradisaical happiness and simplicity, and that the soil yielded the most luxuriant crops with very little labour. Guinea corn, millet, and cotton, have been cultivated by the colonists with great success, and the Danish government sent out a skilful far-



mer to introduce the plough. The exertions of Dr Isert having terminated in his death, Lieutenant Colonel Roer, who, to great botanical knowledge, added much experience in West Indian cultivation, was appointed to succeed him. Mr Flint, who superintended the infant colony till his arrival, founded another at the foot of the mountains, nearer Acra, where the soil was extremely fertile, but where the wet and dry seasons were not so distinct as at Aquapim. The sister of this gentleman, with that humanity which distinguishes the softer sex, accompanied her brother to Aquapim, for the purpose of instructing the natives in needle-work, cotton-spinning, and other branches of female industry.

The district of Acra, which contains Aquapim, is subject to the king of Aquamboe, whose maritime territory is very inconsiderable, though one of the most powerful princes on the coast of Guinea. The Aquamboans are a bold martial race of men, and, like the other Coromantyn Negroes, as the natives of the Gold Coast are denominated, extremely addicted to war, in which, from the fluctuating nature of their government, they are continually engaged. Their chief exercises unlimited despotism, and hence the proverbial saying on the coast, that at Aquamboe, there are only two classes of men, the royal family and the slaves. The Aquamboans are formidable to all their neighbours, though frequently engaged in intestine dis-

sensions. The Acranese formerly formed an independent state, but were conquered by the Aquamboans, in 1680, when the greater part of the nation, with their king, emigrated to Little Popo. On the west of Aquamboe lies the powerful state of Akim, sometimes denominated Akam, Achem, and Accany, which occupies almost all the interior of the Gold Coast, and is supposed by the natives of the coast to extend to Barbary. Akim, or Accany, was formerly a Monarchy, but, being involved in domestic factions, its power was diminished, and its government changed to the republican form. It frequently, however, asserts its supremacy over the kingdoms on the coast, and the king of Aquamboe can only avoid subjection by exciting civil dissensions among the Accanese. The Accanese are represented as carrying on an extensive commerce with the interior kingdoms of Africa, particularly Tonouwah, Gago, and *Meczara*, by which Muzzouk, the capital of Fezzan seems to be intended. They are a bold intrepid nation, much esteemed as well as feared by their neighbours, for their honesty and fair-dealing in commerce. The northern border of Akim extends to Tonouwah, denominated also Inta, Assientè, or Assentai, from its capital city of that name, which stands about 18 days journey from the Gold Coast. The inhabitants of this city are reported, by Mr Norris, to have often attempted, without success, to open a communication with

with the coast through the territories of the Fantees and their confederates. Between Tanouwah and Cashna, or Cassina, lie various small kingdoms and republics, containing towns surrounded with walls. The inhabitants are armed with bows and arrows, and unacquainted with fire-arms. In the Mahometan kingdom of Degombah, which abounds in gold, they tame the elephant. The face of the country is diversified by successive ranges of hills, covered with wood, on which numerous flocks of sheep and herds of kine and goats pasture, while corn, rice, and various kinds of fruits, are produced in the vicinity of the villages in the vales. Mountains of stupendous height tower at intervals, and the fertile districts are interrupted by spaces of eternal sterility. The inhabitants combine the occupation of the shepherd and the husbandman, and the rudiments of manufactures appear in the cotton-cloth, and goat-skins, dyed red and yellow, which are exposed to sell in their towns. The dark colour of the fleece, with its coarse and hairy texture, prevents them from annexing any commercial value to their wool. The shepherds erect huts with the branches of trees, and form tents of the hides of cows and buffaloes. The merchants of Fezzan trade to these states with knives, sabre-blades, carpets, coral, beads, looking-glasses, trinkets, and civet, and the merchants of Agadez with salt; in return for which they receive gold, slaves, cotton-cloth, dy-

ed goat-skins, hides of cows and buffaloes, and georoo-nuts. The georoo-nut grows on a large and broad-leaved tree, which bears a pod of 18 inches in length, inclosing from seven to nine nuts of a yellowish green colour, about the size of a chestnut, the taste of which is a pleasant bitter, and which are used to correct the unwholesome or unpalatable waters of these countries.

Gago is an extensive and populous kingdom in the interior of Africa, which abounds in gold, the inhabitants of which carry on a flourishing commerce with surrounding nations. As no European has ever penetrated into its territories, it is almost unknown. The capital, of the same name, is placed by Leo 400 miles to the south of Tombuctoo. He represents the country as fertile and well-watered, productive of abundance of corn, rice, and fruits, covered with villages and hamlets, inhabited by shepherds and husbandmen.

The Negroes of the coast extend their commerce to an immense distance up the river Volta, which runs in the direction N. N. E. but, towards the source, is interrupted by falls and shallows. Barbot\* relates, that he was inadvertently inform-

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\* Barbot, Agent-General of the French Royal Company of Africa and the islands of America, published a Description of the coasts of north and south Guinea, and Ethiopia Inferior, or Angola, with an account of Guiana and the first discovery of America, being vol. 5. of a Collection of Voyages, printed in

ed by Verhoutert, the Dutch governor of Elmina, that he used at particular seasons to send ships to the mouth of the Volta for slaves, and cloths resembling needle-tapestry, which the natives purchased from the Abyssinians and the Nubians. This is confirmed by a circumstance related by Smith, who asserts that Malays are often brought across the continent of Africa from the shores of the Red Sea, where they have been taken prisoners, to be exposed to sale at Acra. In order to perform this journey, it is necessary to cross that immense girdle of elevated land, of great breadth, and swelling frequently into lofty mountains, which runs from west to east, about the tenth degree of latitude. Of this range Cape Verd forms the western, and the mountains of Abyssinia the eastern extremity. Both the main ridge and its branches, seem to be very productive of gold, especially behind the gold coasts, where tower the

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1746, folio. He excuses the inelegance of his stile and the awkwardness of his arrangement, by his want of literature, and use of a foreign language, but hopes that his pencil may compensate the defects of his pen. He says, that when he was in Africa, whether at sea or on shore, he used to examine every thing curious or useful, and immediately note it down in his pocket-book, or on loose paper, with his pencil, and enter it in the evening in his journal. He practised the same method, with regard to the conversations of intelligent Europeans, and seems even to have extended it to the *books of intelligent Europeans*; as many of his descriptions are copied, without acknowledgement, from Ogilby's Africa.

blue mountains of Kong, which were seen by Mr Park. Kong, the Gonja of Mr Beaufoy, (African Association) the Conchè of D'Anville, and the Gongè of Delisle, situated about 870 miles from Cassina, 250 from Yarra, and 600 from the Gold Coast, and to which the Fezzanese extend their commerce, receives its appellation from its elevated situation, which signifies *the mountain*, in the Mandenga language. The northern ramifications of this range are neither numerous nor extensive, except the mountains of *Komri*, or the Moon, as they are termed by Abulfeda and Ptolemy, which give the Nile its northern direction. These pass to the south, through the middle of south Africa, and form an impenetrable barrier between the two coasts ; for, as M. Correa de Serra informed Major Rennell, the Portuguese of Congo and Angola have never been able to penetrate to the coast of the Indian Ocean. It was from these mountains that Mr Bruce supposed the gold of Sofala to be derived.

In some of the mountainous districts of the north African range, an extraordinary species of commerce subsists. A nation engage in commerce annually, who sedulously seclude themselves from all personal intercourse with the traders who visit them. They traffic chiefly in gold-dust, and bring their goods to particular places, where they leave them, at the approach of the traders, who parcel them out according to the value of the goods they

are willing to leave in barter. When the traders retire, the natives approach, and accept or reject the bargain. Herodotus relates, that the Carthaginians bartered their goods for gold, in this manner, with the Africans who lived beyond the pillars of Hercules; Cadamosta gives the same account of the exchange of salt for gold in Melli; Dr Shaw mentions the same mode of traffic as subsisting between the Moors and inland Negroes; and Wadstrom repeats the same particulars, of a nation inhabiting the country interior to the Grain and Gold Coasts, upon the authority of the Chevalier de la Touch, vice-governor of Goree, in 1788, who had visited the districts they inhabit. The most singular circumstance in this mode of traffic is, that this mutual confidence has never been violated in a single instance. According to the popular fiction of the Moors and Negroes, this people have lips of an unnatural size, which hang half-way over their breasts, which, being raw, require to be continually salted, to preserve them from putrefaction, in the hot climate they inhabit.

The different nations of the Gold Coast resemble the Negroes of Acra and Aquambee in their manners, customs, and religious opinions. They all believe in one supreme God, the creator and preserver of all things. But in order to fix their ideas, they require some definite figure, and generally invest him with the human form, as the most perfect. To believe in a being devoid of

form, seems to the Negro a belief in nothing, for his only test of the truth of an idea, is the liveliness of his conception. To this supreme being prayers are often offered, when his worshippers turn their faces towards the sun, as the most glorious emblem of his majesty. Loyer gives us a formula of morning prayer used at Issini. "My God give me this day rice and yams; give me gold and aigris\*; give me slaves and riches; give me health, and grant that I may be active and swift," The same inaccuracy of thinking, the same vague manner of expression, the same obstinate adherence to propositions, the terms of which are indefinite and obscure, that have occasioned so many incurable religious dissensions among civilized nations, have produced a diversity of sects among the Negroes. The chief of these sectaries, are the believers in two principles, the evil and the good, the African and the European; but as the Negroes seldom disturb themselves about the inconsistency of their opinions, it is impossible to give a clear statement of their doctrines; for they express their sentiments as they occur, and generally have the seeds of contradiction lurk-

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\* The Aigris is a stone of a greenish blue colour, supposed to be a species of jasper, small perforated pieces of which, valued at their weight in gold, and used for money, like the court shells which pass current in the countries along the Niger, from Bambara to Cassina, at ten times their value in Bengal.



ing in their minds. The Africans seem originally to have represented their deity as black like themselves ; but they have been informed by Europeans, that this black deity is the devil of the whites, and essentially evil. Where they are contented with the productions of their soil, and their own manner of life, they represent the evil deity as white, the protector of white men, and the cause of all the evils which the white men have brought upon the Negroes ; and the good deity, the protector of the Africans, as black. But where the Negroes are discontented, they represent the black deity as mischievous and cruel, taking pleasure in tormenting them with numerous evils ; and the God of the whites as benevolent and kind, bestowing upon them, in abundance, fine cloaths, silks, and brandy. Artus told them, that their deity did not neglect them, who furnished them with gold, palm-wine, fruits, cows, goats, fowls, and fish ; but he found it impossible to convince them that these were derived from the Deity. " The earth," said they, " gives us gold, " the earth yields us maize, and rice ; the sea affords us fish, but if we do not labour ourselves, " we may starve, before our God help us. Our " cattle produce young without the assistance of " God ; and for fruits, we are indebted to the Portuguese, who planted the trees ; so that we " have no obligation to our God, as the Europeans " to their benevolent Deity." They admitted,

however, that the rain descended from God, to render the earth fruitful, the trees productive, and to wash down gold from the mountains. The latter effect of rain is common in the gold countries. An inland Negro being sold to a slave ship, prayed fervently for rain; and being interrogated the cause, answered, that it might wash down gold to his friends, and enable them to redeem him. This idea of partiality in the Deity, has induced some to believe, that, after death, the virtuous will be transported to the lands of the whites, and be changed into white men. Others, by a fiction more honourable to themselves, suppose, that, in the beginning, God having created black and white men, gave the former their choice of two gifts, gold, and the knowledge of the arts and sciences; the blacks, having chosen gold, and left learning to the whites, God, offended at their avarice, condemned them to be slaves to the Whites for ever. Concerning the creation of man, however, different opinions prevail; for, besides those who attribute his creation to the Deity, there are some who believe that he was formed by *Anansie*, an enormous spider, and others who pretend that he emerged from caves and holes in the earth. Their notions fluctuate in the same uncertain manner with respect to a future state, which the majority believe, though some admit their ignorance concerning it. Others suppose that the deceased are immediately conveyed to a famous river, nam-

ed *Bosmanque*, in the interior of Africa, where God examines their past lives, and enquires whether they have observed the religious festivals, abstained from forbidden food, and kept their oaths inviolably? If the result of this examination be favourable, they are gently wafted over the river to a land of pure happiness, resembling the Paradise of Mahomet; if unfavourable, the Deity plunges them into the river, where they are drowned, and buried in eternal oblivion. This is obviously an imperfect representation of the Mahometan doctrine. Others believe in the transmigration of souls. The idea of ghosts is extremely common; and, like the vulgar opinion in Britain, the inexpiated crimes of the deceased are supposed to cause their souls to wander after death. Atkins relates, that it is a common saying among the Negroes, who are able to speak English, that, "after death, the honest goodee man go to Godee, livee very well, have a goodee wife, goodee victuals, &c.; but if a rogue and cheatee, he must be tossed here and there, never still." The Negroes regard death with the greatest horror: according to Bosman, no person, on pain of death, durst presume to mention death in the presence of the king of Whidah.

The opinions concerning Fetiches, termed Obi by the Africans in the West Indies, are extremely obscure; but if we may trust Loyer, who attend-

ed particularly to the subject, they are not worshipped as deities, but regarded as charms. The Negroes are taught, by tradition, to regard them as the dispensers of good and evil, by means of some occult qualities, which they derive from God, who is the creator of fetiches, which he has sent upon the earth for the good of mankind. The word *Fetiche* or *Feitisso*, is Portuguese, and signifies a charm; and the supposed power of the *Fetiche* is precisely similar to that occult virtue of charms, lucky and unlucky numbers, and other superstitious ceremonies and observances, which has such general influence on weak and unthinking minds, and to which the greatest unbelievers often attach implicit credit. Gamesters, sailors, and others, who, according to the vulgar opinion, are under the domination of that occult power, termed *Chance*, or who are placed in situations in which it is impossible to calculate, or even to conjecture, the future event from the number of circumstances by which it is influenced, are observed to place the greatest confidence in charms. For the same reasons, the Negroes, whose whole life, from the unsettled nature of their governments, and the number of accidents to which they are exposed, resembles a game of hazard, ought to be more superstitious and addicted to charms than other men. This is what really happens; and the Negroes not only believe in charms, but days and periods are reckoned lucky and unlucky.

They choose their fetiches according to their fancy ; one selects the teeth of a dog, tiger, or civet-cat, an egg, or the bone of a bird ; while another pitches upon a piece of red or yellow wood, the branch of a thorn, the head of a goat, monkey, or parrot. From the fetiche thus chosen, they expect assistance on all occasions, and vow to perform some kind of worship to it. In honour of it, they deprive themselves of some pleasure, commonly abstaining from some particular kind of meat or drink ; so that one man eats no beef, goats flesh, or poultry, and another drinks no palm wine or brandy. From the opposition of personal interests results the opposition of charms or fetiches ; and the virtue of a fetiche is always determined by the success of its possessor. A Negro who is unsuccessful, or who suffers any great misfortune, attributes it to the weakness of his fetiche, and has immediately recourse to another, or applies to a *fetissero*, or priest, to procure him one more powerful. They believe that the fetiche, by the presiding intelligence that resides in it, sees, speaks, and narrowly inspects all their actions, punishing the vicious, and rewarding the virtuous. For this reason, they cover it carefully, or place it out of view, whenever they perform any improper action. This office of the fetiche is supposed by the Negroes of Benin to be performed by the shadow of every man, which

they believe to be a real being, that in another world shall give a true account of all his actions. These fetiches, when remarkably successful, become the tutelary guardians of families, and are transmitted to the descendants of their original possessors, like the Lares and Penates of the Romans, and the Teraphim or household gods of the Aramœans, which they frequently resemble in form. At Elmina and Acra, they often consist of a piece of wood, on which is carved a human head, without body, arms, or limbs. Besides private fetiches appropriate to individuals, there are others of a more public nature, whose influence extends to particular cantons or districts. These are frequently remarkable mountains, rocks, and trees, lakes and rivers. The Acranese attributed the conquest of their country by the Aquamboans, to the conversion of one of these sacred lakes into a salt-pit, by the Portuguese. Of this species seems to have been the Snake worship of the Whidanese, who believed in one supreme God, though they worshipped one species of serpent, as the most powerful fetiches, especially one of immense size, which they termed the Grandfather of the snakes. With the discovery of this snake, at some fortunate period, the snake-worship probably originated; for the ancient Whidanese related, that they found him when he deserted another country on account of its wicked,

ness. This snake-worship, therefore, presents no inexplicable phenomenon in the history of the human mind, for it resolves into the more general doctrine of fetiches, which is only a species of the common belief in the virtue of charms \*.

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## CHAP. X.

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SETTLEMENT AT SIERRA LEONA, BY THE COMMITTEE FOR THE RELIEF OF THE BLACK POOR—DISSOLUTION BY THE NATIVES—RESTORATION BY THE SIERRA LEONA COMPANY—ACCOUNT OF SIERRA LEONA—AND THE BULLAMS, BAGOES, TIMMANEYS, SUZEES, WALLOES, AND MANDINGOES.

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**P**HILOSOPHERS have observed, that the most useful institutions, as well as the most illustrious actions, have generally originated from a lucky accident, or a favourable concurrence of circumstan-

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\* Wadstrom's Essay on Colonization ; Barbot and Bosman's Descriptions of Guinea ; Herodotus ; Ptolemy ; Rennell's Geographical Illustrations ; African Association ; Windus' Journey to Mequinez ; Philips, Loyer, Villault, Atkins, Smith, Saelgrave, Desmarchais' Voyages to the coast of Guinea ; Matthew's Voyage to Sierra Leona ; Norris's Account of Dahomy.

ces. Every institution must originate from some particular event, and must be adapted to local and temporary circumstances ; but is it not a more just conclusion, that every event is capable of becoming the foundation of some plan of extensive utility, when mankind are actuated by the pure spirit of humanity and justice ? Many humane men in England have expostulated against the barbarous practice of Negro-slavery, though, until lately, their success has borne no proportion to their zeal. After George Fox, the founder of the sect of the Quakers, who, in 1670, preached against slavery in Barbadoes, in defiance of persecution, the labours of Morgan, Goodwyn, Woolman, Benezet, Whitefield, and Wesley, deserve to be mentioned ; especially when villains, whose names should have died with their persons, have been gibbeted to immortality, in the full blazon and glory of their crimes. “ Whoever justifies slavery,” says Raynal, “ deserves, from the philosopher, the profoundest contempt, and, from the Negro, a stab of his dagger.” The right of slavery is the right of extermination, of murder, and of assassination. It is justified by no laws of nature, except the one by which the Athenians vindicated their authority over the inhabitants of Melos. *It has ever been the case, urged the Athenians, that the weakest submit to the strongest. This law is not of our making ; it is as old as the world, and will subsist as long as the world*

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*endures.* If the lately formed Negro republic of Hispaniola attain stability and independence, no very distant period may demonstrate to Europeans how dexterously the Negroes can avail themselves of this *principle of natural justice*. The colonization of Sierra Leona, according to those maxims of universal application, those principles of humanity and equity, by which it has been conducted, affords the most favourable presage of the future emancipation of the Negroes, and seems to remove the radical obstacle, by introducing civilization among the native Africans. The first person in England, who proposed a specific plan for the colonization of Africa, upon these principles, was Dr H. Smeathman, in his letters to Dr Knowles, in 1783, who conceived the design during a residence of some years in that country. This plan he originally designed to submit to the respectable society of the Quakers, who, in an hour of real inspiration, had first emancipated their slaves in North America. Before this period, indeed, Dr Fothergill had suggested the propriety of cultivating the sugar-cane in Africa, where it is indigenous, and thrives luxuriantly. In 1784, the Rev. James Ramsay published an Essay on the Treatment of Slaves in the British sugar-colonies, which alarmed the planters so much, that, by maliciously endeavouring to rain the reputation of the author, they excited that investigation which they feared. In 1785, the University of Cam-

bridge proposed a question concerning the slavery and commerce of the human species ; to a Latin Essay on which subject, by Mr T. Clarkson, the first prize was adjudged. An English translation of this Essay was soon after published, which was followed by other two, at different periods, " On the Impolicy of the slave-trade," and " On the inefficacy of its regulation." By means of these publications, such horrid mysteries of iniquity were unveiled, that the friends of human nature caught the alarm, the Society for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade was formed, and WILBERFORCE introduced the subject into the British Parliament, and prosecuted his design with such disinterested zeal and indefatigable perseverance, as must not only endear his name to the virtuous of every age, but class him with the great benefactors of human nature. During the American war, many Negroes, (according to the humane maxims of war) who had been invited to take up arms and massacre their masters, had entered on board the British ships of war, or repaired to the British standard, where they had been formed into regiments of rangers. At the termination of the war, in 1783, they were dispersed, with the white loyalists, among the Bahama Islands and Nova Scotia, while many were conveyed to Great Britain, especially to London. There, indigent and idle, despised and forlorn, they were soon vitiated by intercourse with their profligate coun-

trymen, who, having contrived to convey themselves from the West Indies, infest the streets of London. As this evil had acquired considerable magnitude, a Committee was formed for the relief of the black poor, at the head of which appeared the benevolent Jonas Hanway. With this Committee Mr Granville Sharp, the indefatigable benefactor of the Africans, and Dr Smeathman, zealously co-operated. In 1786, the latter published his "Plan of a settlement to be made " near Sierra Leona, on the Grain Coast," for the establishment of Blacks and people of colour, as free men, under the direction of the Committee for relieving the Black poor, and the protection of the British Government. To this plan the Committee annexed a hand-bill, inviting all persons of the said description, who were willing to become colonists, to apply to Dr Smeathman, to whom they had entrusted the formation of the settlement. In consequence of this measure, above 400 blacks, with about 60 whites, who were chiefly women of abandoned character, debilitated by disease, were embarked on board the transports furnished by government, with provisions, arms, and instruments of agriculture, and conveyed to Sierra Leona, where they arrived on the 9th of May 1787. As the exertions of Dr Smeathman had been terminated by his dissolution, and the cause of humanity had been deprived of an active and intelligent friend, whose benevolence and generosity were on-

ly equalled by his capacity and perseverance, the formation of the settlement was committed to Captain Thompson of the *Nautilus*, by whom a district of land, about 20 miles square, for the establishment, was purchased from king Naimbana, and the chiefs his vassals. The site of a town was immediately chosen, on a rising ground, fronting the sea, a store-house was founded, and land distributed by lot to the colonists. But the immediate prospect of labour, instead of producing that harmonious exertion which their situation required, only excited turbulence and licentiousness; indolence and depravity so generally prevailed, that hardly a man could be induced to labour steadily in erecting the hut by which he was to be sheltered, or in unloading the provisions by which he was to be supported. Their constitutions had been originally weakened by disease, which, during their passage, had been aggravated by intemperance, debauchery, and confinement; the rainy season commenced before they could be prevailed on to form huts for their shelter, and such a dreadful mortality ensued, that, at the departure of Captain Thompson, on September 16th, the colony was reduced by death and desertion to 276 persons. As the excesses of the most incorrigible had accelerated their dissolution, the survivors perceiving, at the departure of the vessels, that, without industry, their destruction was inevitable, began to plant rice and Indian corn. The

sickness, soon after, entirely ceased, but the habits of many of the colonists still continued; addicted to intoxication, many sold their arms and muskets for rum, and afterwards emigrated to the adjacent slave-factories. By a slight species of agriculture, and a great increase of poultry, the remainder subsisted for some time; but as the most industrious were unable to purchase live-stock, and were disappointed of intended supplies by the knavery of an unprincipled shipmaster, this partial emigration still continued till November 1789; when the infant colony was dispersed and their town burnt, by an African chief, in revenge of some depredations committed by a slave-factor, to whose party two of the colonists had been compelled to serve as guides. The colonists who escaped, found a temporary asylum at Bancee Island-factory, and at the town of a native chief, who, compassionating their distress, received them under his protection. These were collected by Mr Falconbridge, who was employed in the beginning of 1791, by a number of gentlemen, anxious for the civilization of Africa, associated under the name of the St George's Bay Company, to carry out stores for the relief of the dispersed colonists, and to form them again into a permanent settlement. Mr Falconbridge found the original colonists, though still turbulent and disorderly, warmly attached to their European friends, and ready to concur in any measures for their mutual

security; but much more formidable obstacles presented themselves, in prevailing upon the native chiefs to ratify the surrender of territory which had been formerly occupied. The only property with which the savage is acquainted, consists of the fruits of the earth, his ornaments, arms, and instruments of hunting and fishing. He changes his habitation according to convenience, and never thinks of buying or selling the earth upon which he roams at large. His own possession of territory is temporary; he cannot therefore believe that any cession is perpetual. He admits a colony, because he imagines it consists of his friends, or because the colonists have purchased his friendship; but as soon as he changes his opinion, or withdraws his friendship, he thinks himself completely justified in resuming that right which he had abandoned without reflection. Thus the Caribs, at first, peaceably divided their territories with the white strangers who settled in their land, and only told them, "that land must either be very bad, or very scarce in their country, since they were come from so great a distance, and had exposed themselves to so many dangers, to seek for it among them." But afterwards, when quarrels had commenced, and Europeans exhibited their deeds of purchase, "I know not what thy paper says," exclaimed a Carib, "but read what is written on my arrow. There you may see, in characters which do not

“ lie, that if you do not give me what I demand, “ I will go and burn your house to-night.” In the same manner, according to the Negro law of retaliation, the black colonists had been expelled, and their houses burnt, and the Negro chiefs could not discover the propriety of reinstating them in their former possessions, without additional remuneration. King Naimbanna urged, with some plausibility, “ that he had been hastily “ induced to dispose of land which he had not a “ right to sell ;” because, said he, “ this is a “ large country, and belongs to many people ;— “ where I live belongs to myself, and I can live “ where I please—I can appropriate any uninhabited land within my territories to any use I “ please—but it is necessary for me to obtain the “ consent of my people, or rather of the head “ man of every town, before I sell any land to a “ white man, or allow strangers to come and live “ among us. I should have done this, you say, “ at first :—granted—but as I disobliged my subjects, by suffering your people to take possession of the land, without their approbation, I “ was unable to protect them, without hazarding “ civil commotions in my country ;—and as they “ have been turned away, it is best that they “ should now be restored by the unanimous voice “ of all interested.” After a palaver held for the purpose, and considerable altercation, Mr Faulconbridge repurchased the former territory, on

condition of building his colonial town in another situation. The restored colony was accordingly placed at Granville town, which had been deserted by the natives from superstitious motives, at a small distance from the ruins of Free town, its former situation. It consisted of 64 settlers when Mr Faulconbridge departed for England, in June 1791, with the son of king Naimbanna, whom he had agreed that the Company should educate. He brought a letter from his father to Mr Granville Sharp, whom he requested to superintend his son's education, and "let him have his own ways in nothing but what he should think right himself." In this letter, Naimbanna, after hinting at the reports injurious to the black colonists, that had been spread through the country by the agents of the different slave-factories, and the difficulty he had found to secure their tranquillity, says, "I thought they would become useful to us, by teaching us things we know not; and common reason must tell, that the most ignorant people in the world would be glad to see their country made good, if they had the idea how it might be done. Again, I must let you know, that if there were no other reason for my wishing for the welfare of the settlement, I should do it, that there might be a stop put to the horrid depredations that are so often committed in this country, by all countries that come here to trade." John Henry Naimbanna,



who was sent to England, remained there 18 months, when he was called to Sierra Leona by the report of his father's death ; but, being seized with a fever, accompanied with delirium, on his passage, died immediately after his arrival. With few advantages of person, his manners were uncommonly pleasing, courteous, and even delicate ; though his feelings were quick, and his temper occasionally warm, yet his disposition was kind and affectionate. Though the disadvantages of the long neglect of his mind were apparent, his observations exhibited great acuteness and good sense ; his love of knowledge was ardent and unwearied ; he displayed the most lively gratitude to those who assisted him in his studies, and considerable penetration in distinguishing characters. At his arrival in England, he had imbibed most of the African prejudices ; he believed in witchcraft, had no idea of forgiving injuries, and endeavoured, as he expressed it, to make himself as proud as he could ; but, before his departure, these were abandoned, and he had embraced Christianity, though he was free from enthusiasm. During his residence in England, he learned to read and write fluently, and in his private hours had made no inconsiderable proficiency in Hebrew. His morals were always pure ; and, before his departure, he employed himself in concerting plans for the introduction of the Christian religion, and civilized manners, into his native coun-

try, to which he always manifested the most jealous partiality.

While Mr Falconbridge was attempting to retrieve the ruinous affairs of the colony, the members of the St George's Bay Association were incorporated by act of Parliament, under the name of the Sierra Leona Company, to continue for the space of 31 years, from the 1st day of July 1791. By the act of incorporation, a Court of Directors, consisting of 13 persons, chosen by the members from among themselves, every year, was to be invested with the management of the Company's affairs; the Company, its agents, and servants, were prohibited from engaging in the slave-trade, and appropriating, or employing slaves in their service; and His Britannic Majesty granted to the Company an exclusive right to the lands of Sierra Leona, purchased, or to be purchased, from the native chiefs. The directors of the Company, conscious of the immediate necessity of giving a permanent foundation to their establishment, dispatched five vessels, without delay, to Sierra Leona, to convey stores and articles of trade, artificers, soldiers, and a few select English settlers, with a council for the government of the colony. Considering the stability and security which a colony derives from numbers, connected by a common interest, and at the same time aware of the danger that would necessarily result from the intrusion of idle, unprincipled, or extravagant Euro-

peans, impatient of subordination, of desperate fortunes, or doubtful characters, they determined to discourage the promiscuous emigration of their countrymen, and to endeavour to find a class of settlers more able to endure the vicissitudes of the climate, and the insalubrity of the uncultivated soil. Many of the black loyalists, at the termination of the American war, had been conveyed to the Bahamas and Nova Scotia, where they had experienced a treatment which they did not scruple to denominate a second servitude. In the Bahamas the black code of laws received in the West Indian islands prevails, according to which every black is presumed to be a slave, except he can prove his freedom, and the evidence of a black is not admitted against a white man. Every free negro, therefore, who cannot produce formal proof of his freedom, becomes *ipso facto* the slave of any unprincipled white, who chuses to swear that he is his property. Of these laws, the white loyalists, who had found an asylum in the Bahamas, untaught by adversity to sympathize with the unfortunate, availed themselves against the black refugees, with such flagrant injustice, that their conduct occasioned the interference of the governor. In Nova Scotia, where they had been promised lands, the same disposition appeared, though it did not proceed to such violent excesses. The lands allotted them were almost sterile, as the most valuable were engrossed by the whites ; and

of the privileges of British subjects, particularly the trial by jury, they were entirely deprived. Persons accustomed to the service of slaves, become too effeminate to support themselves without them. In the West Indies, the deepest distress of a ruined planter is expressed by the significant phrase, "Poor man, he has but one negro left to bring him a pail of water." In these islands, Europeans find the climate too hot to subsist without slaves; and in Nova Scotia, a chief justice declared publicly from the bench, that it was too cold. The free Negroes, finding no redress of their grievances could be obtained, and guessing what treatment they had in future to expect, deputed one of their number to represent their situation to the British Ministry. In consequence of his representations, it was determined, with the consent of the Directors, that all who were discontented with their situation in Nova Scotia, and were willing to fix their residence in their native Africa, should be conveyed to Sierra Leona at the expence of the Government. Lieutenant Clarkson, brother of Mr T. Clarkson, whose humane exertions have already been mentioned, was commissioned to repair to Nova Scotia, and propose to the free blacks the terms upon which the Sierra Leona Company was willing to receive them, and afterwards to superintend their emigration. The proposals of the Company were accepted with the utmost eagerness; about 1200 blacks embarked

with the greatest alacrity for Sierra Leona, where they arrived in March 1792. This accession of numbers inspired the colonists with additional energy, and induced the Company to exert themselves with redoubled vigour. The directors increased their capital by subscription, in order to support an establishment proportional to the extent of their plan ; they sent out considerable stores, both to supply the exigencies of the colony, and to enable their commercial agent to establish a trade with the Africans in the native productions of the country ; they adopted active measures for cultivating the most profitable tropical produce ; and, in order to discover new articles for commerce in the district of Sierra Leona and its vicinity, they engaged Mr A. Nordenskiöld an able mineralogist, and Mr A. Afzelius an excellent Botanist. The original settlement of the free blacks was again chosen as the most eligible situation for the colonial town, and great exertions were made to erect habitable huts before the commencement of the rainy season. But the exertions of the colonists, and the precautions of the directors, in sending out frames of houses, materials for building, and various stores, were insufficient to prevent excessive indisposition, which occasioned discontent and depression of spirits, suspended labour and aggravated expence, nearly decimated the blacks, and carried off almost the half of the whites living on shore. The increased price of provisions and European goods, occasion-

ed by the Republican war, the unexpected sterility of the soil in the vicinity of the town, with the inefficiency of the original council of government, which occasioned great irregularity, prodigality, and waste, for some time retarded the progress of the colony ; but after Mr Clarkson, whose transactions with the Nova Scotians had given such universal satisfaction, was invested with the sole power, order and energy were restored, periodical reports, minutes of council, and journals, were regularly transmitted to the court of directors, general harmony began to prevail, new plans of police were formed, the public works were rapidly advanced, and the natives began to divest themselves of suspicious fears, and view the improvements without apprehensions of jealousy. After the expiration of the office of Mr Clarkson, the discontent in some degree revived, and the Nova Scotian blacks, irritated by the apprehended misconduct of some of the Company's servants, exhibited indications of turbulence and disorder, and, at last, by means of delegates, presented a spirited remonstrance to the court of directors, complaining of the high price of the Company's goods, and the low wages of labour, and that many of the promises made at their emigration had never been fulfilled. These disturbances were, with some difficulty, appeased, and the colony, emerging from its original obscurity, began to attract the notice of all the chiefs on the wes-

tern coast of Africa, and to receive ambassadors from nations situated at a great distance in the interior parts of the country, when its prosperity was interrupted by a deplorable reverse of fortune. On the 28th of September 1794, a French squadron suddenly appeared in the river, instigated with the hopes of obtaining an immense booty, by an American slave-captain, who imagined that he had been affronted by the governor; and, as the colony had been lulled into a fatal security by the declaration of the French convention, plundered and destroyed the colonial-town without meeting with any resistance. By this attack, the funds of the Company sustained an enormous loss, and the colony was again plunged into that calamitous situation, which the deficiency of provisions and the want of proper shelter had occasioned; but harmony was effectually restored among the colonists, and, by the exertions of the company, their affairs were soon retrieved from these complicated disasters. The French squadron, which consisted chiefly of privateers, and had been fitted out against the English slave-factories on the coast, by interrupting the traffic in slaves, increased the influence of the colony, and promoted its commercial views.

Soon after the restoration of the colony, in August 1792, Mr Nordenskiöld the mineralogist, who had been emaciated with sickness before he sailed from England, and had afterwards suffered severely from the climate to which he was unac-

customed at Sierra Leona, anxious to fulfil his engagements with the Company, with too great precipitation, before either his health was confirmed, or the rainy season terminated, resolves upon an expedition into the interior parts of the country, where he hoped to find an innocent hospitable people, among whom he might pursue his researches to his own satisfaction, and the emolument of his employers. Having obtained from the governor and council the most proper goods which the stores contained, for his disbursements on the journey, he proceeded up the river to Robanna, the island where king Naimbanna resided; and afterwards embarking in a sloop, commanded by a white slave-trader, sailed up the river Scassos. Having landed at the distance of 12 miles from Porto Logo, he attempted to proceed thither by land, but was robbed of all his goods on the journey. At Porto Logo, between 70 and 80 miles above Sierra Leona, he fell sick, and was conveyed in a canoe back to the colony, where he arrived feverish and delirious, and expired without being able to give any distinct account of the expedition. Mr Norden-skiold united undaunted resolution to indefatigable application; approbation of the colonial scheme, and attachment to his favourite science, induced him to engage in his laborious researches without any stipulated salary; but to the excellent qualities of his mind, he did not add that caution which hazardous enterprises demand, that stubborn se-



renity of soul which accommodates itself to every situation ; and thus the world was deprived of his enquiries in a tract which had never been traversed by the enlightened and scientific traveller. About the same period, a voyage was made by the agents of the Company to the island of Bananas, Camaranças river, and Plantain island ; which was successful in removing the prejudices which had been imbibed by the native chiefs, from the misrepresentations of the slave-traders ; and procured such information concerning the character and political relations of the African tribes as was necessary to direct the intercourse of the Colony.

The principles, according to which the formation of the colonial establishment at Sierra Leona was conducted, were so favourable to humanity, that its success may justify our surprise. Mankind have seldom seen so extensive a plan conducted upon purely benevolent views ; and its ultimate success will be the fairest panegyric on human nature. The conduct of the directors appears to have been uniformly regulated by the purest motives of benevolence and justice, whatever ideas may be formed of the political expediency of their measures. Theirs was a situation of uncommon delicacy and difficulty, which required sagacity to combine and harmonize discordant interests ; penetration to discover latent resources ; judgement to simplify complicated details ; experience to seize the favourable oppor-

tunities of action, and activity to supply the exigencies of fortune. The maxims of legislation and policy, which statesmen have delivered, which historians have recorded, and which are bandied about by loquacious orators, with great appearance of sagacity, could avail them little. Political science is rather personal than abstract, and the instruction derived from historical examples and political documents, is more apparent than real. Political bodies, like chymical compositions, change their nature essentially, with a trivial variation of their structure, or the arrangement of their component parts. Analogical reasoning is always apt to induce error ; at the same time, it is the only species which the science of politics admits. Different situations, complicated precisely in the same manner, never occur ; for the political agent always changes, though the circumstances be entirely similar. The degree of suspension, or acceleration of the different wheels of the political machine, are seldom capable of being adjusted by definite rules ; and, as the directors have experienced in the case of Mr Clarkson and his successors, the manner in which a thing is effected, is commonly of more importance than the tendency of the transaction itself. So great was the popularity of Mr Clarkson among the colonists, that under his direction measures met with universal approbation, that would otherwise have been received with jealousy and distrust.

The obstacles which the directors had to encounter, were such as originated from the character of the colonists, from the nature of the soil which they had to cultivate, and from the manners and political relations of the nations with which the colony was connected. By the act of incorporation, the Sierra Leona Company were empowered to enact their particular regulations, adhering to the British constitution as the basis of their legislative measures. The leading feature of their institutions, was the introduction of an absolute equality between the black and white colonists, in respect of their rights and duties, whether personal or commercial, civil or religious. The interior regulations of the community, the connection of its different parts, which gives unity to the complicated machine, and enables it to act with vigour, and extend its influence, the economical system by which the tranquillity of the individual is secured, and the public energy, instead of being wasted in intestine dissension, is directed to the confirmation of the common security and prosperity; these are the vital principles of a colony, that, like the tendrils of a tree, not only support the present plant, but cause the future expansion of its branches. In order to introduce internal police into the colony, every ten householders were instructed to chuse a tything-man, or petty constable, to be invested with the power of convoking the tything on emergencies; and

every ten tything-men were required to chuse a hundred, or constable of a district, to consult in civil cases with the efficient government. The sources of public revenue for defraying the current expences of government, and renumeration of the founders of the colony, were appointed to be the product of quit-rents, and of a tax on the produce of the district; the profits of lands reserved for the Company; and the advantages resulting from a trade in native produce with the marine and interior districts of Africa. The infancy of a colony, like that of an individual, is a state of want and imbecility, from which it is impossible to predict either its future necessities or resources. The produce of a district by pasturage or tillage, by fisheries, or mines, when its numbers are multiplied, can neither be ascertained, nor the subsistence it is able to afford to the supernumerary hands employed in manufacturing its raw materials. In Sierra Leona, as in every infant colony, the expenditure has been very great, though not superior to what has occurred in other instances of colonization. Till the colony is able to support itself by its native produce, and also to create a stock of superfluous labour, this expence is inevitable; it occurred in the formation of the settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, which, during the space of 60 years, was unable to support its own establishment. The directors, however, have never been induced by commer-

cial views to depart from the original principles of humanity upon which the establishment at Sierra Leona was founded. The white colonists, and the immediate servants of the Company, were selected with great caution at their emigration; yet, from attention to the culture of tropical productions, many persons habituated to the maxims of slavery in the West Indies, and contaminated by vicious habits, were hastily admitted. To this it may be presumed, that the secret efforts of slave merchants, and possessors of slaves, from whom the establishment narrowly escaped ruin at its commencement, did not fail to contribute. The infamous character of the original settlers, who consisted of negroes corrupted by every species of vice and dissipation, who added the meanness contracted by beggary to their other bad qualities; and females of the most profligate class of prostitutes, who complained of having been inveigled from England in a state of intoxication, to practise their iniquities more brutishly in the horrid country of Africa, presented the most formidable obstacles both to the establishment of a regular system of policy, and to the introduction of civilized habits among the native tribes by whom they were surrounded. Men seldom change their character with their country; but the ability of legislation consists in counteracting, by wise institutions, the force of vicious example, and exterminating from the infant mind the taint

of infamy, which would otherwise descend to posterity. The character of the Nova Scotian blacks was free from the original defects of the first settlers, but marked by various striking peculiarities. The combined effects of slavery, irregular warfare, an emigration scarcely distinguishable from exile, and a second emigration, attended with sickness and hardships, on the general character of a body of predial slaves, who had emancipated themselves, could not fail to produce a harshness and bitterness of temper, a vehemence of disposition, easily affected by jealousy and suspicion, a turbulence rude and contumelious, and an unreasonable tenacity of their most trifling rights. Deeply impressed with their own hardships, and little acquainted with the nature of civil rights, they were apt to confound the inevitable evils of life with the mischievous exertions of arbitrary power, the necessary coercions of society with the whips of slavery and the shackles of the family-despot. Destitute of parental and scholastic tuition, their morals were left to the formation of accident, and their opinions to the direction of inevitable prejudice. They were not, however, contaminated by the vices attending irregular marriage; they were neither addicted to drunkenness nor swearing, which are almost understood to form an essential part of the military character; their veneration for the

Sabbath was extreme, and their religious deportment decent and serious. From the inaccuracy of their religious opinions, they were divided into a number of sects, to each of which preachers of their own number and persuasion were attached, who, relieving each other in succession, frequently occupied the whole night in exhortation. One of these preachers compared the emancipation of the blacks, and their settlement in Sierra Leona, to the emancipation of the Hebrews from Egyptian slavery, and their settlement in Palestine. The comparison might have been extended to numerous particulars in their history and character. At the period of the emancipation of the Hebrews, they were degraded into one of the rudest tribes; though irritated by abuse, their spirit was depressed by harsh and debasing servitude; their national character was extinguished, and their minds enervated; they were equally devoid of unanimity and confidence, of courage and public spirit. How different is this character, from that which the conquerors of Canada displayed! The institution of public schools for the instruction of the children of the colonists and natives, and the introduction of the Christian religion among the African tribes by Protestant missionaries, were measures which reflect great credit upon the directors. Had the learning and abilities of these missionaries borne any proportion to their zeal and enthusiasm, rational expectations might have been entertained

of the promulgation of the mild doctrines and pure morals of the religion of Jesus, the religion of universal love and benevolence, that, without puzzling the understanding by intricate casuistry, prescribes to the simple mind an infallible rule of conduct of universal application, instead of the vague and uncertain dogmas of paganism, and the ferocious and intolerant principles which the law of Mahomet inculcates. Unfortunately, however, many of these missionaries were as intolerant as Mahometans, and bigotted as Pagans ; and, which was still more unlucky, much better acquainted with the peculiar tenets of their different sects than with the genuine principles, either of the religion which they intended to propagate, or of that which they proposed to confute. The incoherence of opinions in an established sect, is seldom a circumstance of much importance ; for where a small degree of enthusiasm prevails, the most discordant doctrines are soon believed to be perfectly consistent. But, in the propagation of opinions, systematical consistency is of some importance, especially where discrepancy and contradiction are to be urged as the principal objections to doctrines already received. One of the sage instructors sent to Sierra Leona, is said to have commenced his mission with a spirited sermon in the English language, to a congregation of natives, who did not understand a word that he uttered,—an attempt as absurd as if he had endeavoured to enlighten a blind man by

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holding a candle to his eyes, unless he expected to receive from the Spirit of God the power of speaking in unknown languages. The Spaniards, it is true, in South America, seem to have believed that their language was universally understood. The first discoverers of Yucatan enquired the name of the country, from an Indian whom they met, who being as little versed in Spanish as they were in the Indian language, replied *Tectetan, Tectetan*,—*I do not understand you*, with which answer the Spaniards were perfectly satisfied, and the response of the Indian was converted into *Yucatan* in their pronounciation. The name of Peru is said to have had a similar origin; but the Spaniards did not proceed to so great an absurdity as to preach a sermon to the Indians in a language of which they had never heard before. The superior excellence of the Christian religion, and its obvious practical application, has been generally admitted by rude tribes, who have been far from conceding the same authority to the characteristic tenets of certain denominations of Christians. The Indians of Virginia affirmed, that the God of the Christians as far exceeded *Okee*, the Virginian Deity, as the English guns and pistols exceeded their bows and arrows. The doctrine of the eternal damnation of the tribes that never heard of the Christian religion, a doctrine which is much more explicitly revealed in divers *Creeds* and *Confessions of Faith*, than in the sacred Scriptures, has

always proved an invincible obstacle to the propagation of the Romish tenets in Africa. The Whidanese made this declaration to an Augustin friar, who attempted their conversion. "*We are not better than our ancestors, and, if they must burn, patience, we will comfort ourselves with them as well as we can.*" There is, perhaps, no danger lest any of the native Africans should obtain such an education at Sierra Leona, as the son of an Indian cacique received from the Spaniards ; who told his relations, that, at his return, requested to know what he had learned. " Since I have been a Christian, I have learned to swear by the Name of God, by the Cross, and by the words of the Holy Gospel :—I have learned to game, and lie, and dissemble like the Christians :—I have learned to wear a sword by my side to fight in my quarrels :—and now I want nothing in order to resemble them completely, but a mistress, which I intend to take as soon as possible." Such an education as this, the young African chiefs, who have been brought to Liverpool, have too frequently received from the Christians who have directed their tuition. Such an education as this they will not receive at Sierra Leona ; but, will no doctrines be inculcated, which ignorance may misconceive, or weakness misinterpret, for the relaxation of morals and the palliation of crimes ? It is incumbent on all who engage in the religious

instruction of the Africans, to consider, that the essence of their native religions consists in ceremony, and abstinence from prohibited food. Negligence, in respect of prohibited meat and drink, is the only inexpiable offence among the Africans; but murder, adultery, theft, and crimes of a similar species, are only accounted venial faults, which are all expiable with money, and imply no moral deformity. An intelligent instructor will find no difficulty in conveying to the rudest understandings, ideas much more abstract than any which true religion requires; but if he bewilder the minds of his proselytes by terms and phrases, to which they are able to affix no definite ideas, he risks every thing that he has gained, and his converts, taught to distrust their own understandings, will lose the capacity of distinguishing truth, and adhere to the doctrines, or rather to the name, of every enthusiast, who can impress their minds with glowing admiration.

The inconveniences which the colonists of Sierra Leona had to encounter from the nature of the country, were rather such as are incident to the cultivation of waste land, covered with woods and interspersed with swamps, than resulting from any peculiar sterility of the soil, or malignity of the climate. The climate became more salubrious with the progress of cultivation, as the colonists became accustomed to the ardour of the meridian sun, the sudden changes to cold in the evening, the damps and dews of the night, and the hea-

vy rains of the wet season. If to the putrid effluvia of woods, marshes, and swampy beds of rivers, we add unwholesome and scanty food, bad lodgings and bad clothing, exposure to damps, dews, and rains, inattention to cleanliness, and intoxication with bad spirits, we may easily account for the mortality subsequent to the settlement of various colonies which have afterwards proved extremely salubrious; as Canada, New England, Virginia, West Florida, Jamaica, Surinam, and Cayenne.

The name *Sierra Leona*, or *the mountain of lions*, was originally applied by the Portuguese to the mountainous region which lies on the south of the great river *Sierra Leona*, often denominated *Tagrin* and *Mitomba*. The term was afterwards extended by navigators and geographers to all the coast between *Rio Sestos* and *Cape Verga*, at the distance of seven leagues from *Rio Nunez*. *Rio Nunez* lies in  $10^{\circ}. 21''$ . N. Lat. and *Cape Sierra Leona* in  $8^{\circ}. 12'$ . N. Lat. On the north side of *Sierra Leona* river, the land is low, level, extremely fertile, especially in rice, and denominated *Bulam*, *the low land*; but on the south it is termed *Burri*, and rises in mountains of a bold elevation, which tower behind each other in successive ridges, clothed in perpetual verdure, where the variegated foliage of the trees is still more diversified by the shades of the unequal projecting summits of the hills. The slopes of the inferior

hills, covered with underwood and rank weeds, and resembling pasture grounds, have the appearance of a high degree of cultivation. The sea-coast is generally a low swamp, covered with lofty mangroves, intersected with innumerable little creeks. The shore on both sides of the river is skirted with a white sandy beach, edged with groves of palms, which at a distance seem to float on the waving surface of the water, while red projecting cliffs, at intervals, break the uniformity of the scene. Receding from the shore, a boggy plain commences, covered with a thin sward, on which grow a few straggling ebony trees without underwood. These plains are overflowed by the sea, at the vernal and autumnal equinox, when the peninsula of Sierra Leona is insulated. After the waters retire, when the crust of mud, left by the inundation, is hardened by the heat of the sun, it is dissolved in large earthen pots of water to produce salt, which is copiously extracted. The soil varies according to its situation; in the level grounds, a strong loam, or stiff clay, but stony in the high lands. In Sierra Leona, as well as in other places of Africa, a saponaceous white earth, so unctuous that it dissolves like butter, is found, with which the Negroes white-wash their houses, and which they eat with their rice. This practice is not attended with injury in Africa, but, in the West Indies, where a yellow-ockreous earth is used as a substitute, fre-

quently occasions their death. As the cultivated grounds are fallow six years in seven, they are always overgrown with underwood during the interval. They are interspersed with savannahs, where the Guinea-grass grows to an amazing height, and feeds, while it conceals, vast numbers of deer, buffaloes, and elephants, above which the enormous serpents named *tennee*, which are often so large as to swallow a buffalo, are seen rearing their heads, and looking round for prey. Rice, millet, maize, potatoes, eddies, yams, cassada, and many other esculent roots and vegetables, are raised in great profusion. The rice is of two species; one which, like that of Carolina, grows in the moist swampy grounds, and another of a reddish husk, with a beautiful white grain, which thrives in the dry soil of elevated or sloping lands, and is more nutritive, though less productive than the marsh-rice. In some places of the coast, the natives have three rice harvests in the year; one crop from the high grounds and two from the plains, which they overflow. Of the cassada, the sweet or harmless species, (*Iatropha 5. foliis palmatis, lobis incertis, radice oblonga, funiculo valido per centrum ducto, carne nivea*) is chiefly cultivated. In the West Indies, another species, the root of which contains a deleterious juice, the effects of which may, however, be removed by mint water, and salt of wormwood, (*Iatropha 4. foliis palmatis pentadactylibus, lobis lanceolatis, levi-*

bus, integerrimis, radice conico-oblonga, carne sublactea) is frequently used. The *Mollugo*, or African chickweed, which produces a small bean that serves the natives for food in times of scarcity, grows in such quantities, that, during the rains, or after a flood, it covers the shores, and overspreads spaces of several acres, many leagues at sea. Most of the West Indian tropical fruits, as pine-apples, oranges, limes, plantains, bananas, pears, and plumbs, are produced in great perfection. Guavas, tamarinds, cashew, and kola-trees, thrive extremely, as well as the palm and cocoa. Numerous gum and spice-trees grow in the forests, wild vines bear luxuriantly, but their grapes are acrid from the want of cultivation; the wild fig attains the size of an oak, but its fruit is small, and generally destroyed by the ants. Castor-nuts spring spontaneously every where, and its leaves are useful for bruises. The kola-tree resembles the walnut, and seems to be the same with the gooroo. The nut resembles Peruvian bark in its taste and qualities. Various species of the red and black-pepper, as well as the Malaguetta, or grains of Paradise, with ginger and nutmeg, are also produced; and the coffee-plant, and a very large species of nutmeg, have been brought from the interior parts of the country. The sugar-cane, and different kinds of cotton, are the spontaneous productions of the soil. Of cotton, there are particularly three species; one of which

is of a tawny or nankeen colour, one is perfectly white, and another is pink or pale red, and parts with the seeds so freely, that it may be spun with almost no preparation. Excellent ropes are formed of a species of aloe or silky grass. Indigo, of the best quality, grows wild, and is used by the natives. The Portuguese, when they settled in Sierra Leona, had extensive indigo-works in several places, the ruins of which still remain. The natives of Rio Pongos make a very strong species of beer from the root *ningee*, which grows to the size of a man's leg, and the length of three or four feet. When raw, it is extremely acrid, and like asbestos, is little altered by fire. The loadstone is found in the high lands of Sierra Leona; and in the interior country towards the south, a white, malleable iron is smelted and refined by the Negroes, who, on the Grain Coast, are very dextrous artificers in metals.

Various species of wild beasts inhabit the mountains; as lions, leopards, hyænas, elephants, buffaloes, wild-boars, and deer. There are innumerable kinds of monkeys, and, among the rest, the japanzee or chimpanzee, which resembles man even more than the ourang-outang, and builds huts for the female and young, on the outside of which the male lies to keep guard. These animals, the Negroes call cursed men, who could speak, if they were not afraid of being forced to labour. There are innumerable species of snakes,



the most remarkable of which are the *sinyacki amoofoong* and the *tennee*. The first, of a pale green colour with black spots, about a foot in length, and as thick as a man's finger, possesses the power of ejecting a subtle vapour into the eyes of any animal that approaches within the distance of two or three feet, which instantly occasions incurable blindness, and extreme pain for several days. The *tennee*, which grows to an enormous size, sometimes above 50 feet long, is of the same genus as the *anaconda* of Ceylon, and the *boa* of Guinea. The colour of the back is dark-grey, with obscure yellowish lines, that of the belly is somewhat lighter and spotted. It lurks in marshes and savannahs, writhed in spiral curls, which include a circumference of five or six feet diameter, and appear at a great distance like the brink of a well. Over these it rears its head with part of its body, and remaining immovable like the mast of a vessel, waits till an animal approach within reach, and darts upon it, while the circumvolutions of the tail act with the force of a strong spring. As the teeth are turned inward like hooks, the struggles of the animal to escape only fix them the deeper; and, if the animal be large, by twisting its tail around it, the monster crushes all his bones, and swallows it without mastication, after it is lubricated with saliva. Till the process of digestion is finished, the *tennee* remains as lifeless as a log, and, in this situation, is often devoured by the

ants, that enter its mouth, ears, and nose, and quickly leave nothing but the skeleton of the monster. The ants, however, are the most formidable and destructive enemies of man. Their different species are extremely numerous, from an inch in length to a size that is almost imperceptible by the naked eye. They burst from their nests in innumerable myriads, and destroying every thing on the face of the earth, and to a considerable depth under its surface, often oblige the natives to desert their habitations, while nothing can escape their rage but the metals, and nothing can divert them from their course, but large fires or deep waters ;—nay, they often extinguish fires by their numbers, and form bridges of the dead bodies of the swarm, over shallow waters which impede their route. Some species build their nests on the trunks and branches of trees, and are denominated bug-a-bugs, or *termites* ; some erect round pyramids of a rich clay, which becomes excessively hard, and admits of a smooth surface, to the height of 8 or 10 feet, with the same extent of base. The interior of these pyramids consists of little galleries interwoven in the manner of a labyrinth, corresponding to a small opening which gives egress and regress to the insects which inhabit it. These are shaped like common ants, but their limbs are not so distinctly defined ; they are softer, fuller, and, as it were, of an unctuous nature. Another species burrow in the ground, and

only make themselves known by small cylindrical galleries, of the thickness of a goose-quill, which they erect against the bodies they design to attack. Their bite causes excruciating pain; and their constitution is so strong, that vinegar or spirituous liquors have no effect upon them. After the ants, the musketoës are the most troublesome animals. They exist in immense swarms, and will sometimes cover a man all over, clustering like a hive of bees. This the English sailors, who first visited these coasts, denominated *a suit of African clothes*. Mr Seffstrom of Sweden has discovered, that a small quantity of camphor, strewed on a burning coal, immediately destroys every insect that comes within the reach of its effluvia. This invention might be extremely useful at Sierra Leona. In this country, as in most parts of Guinea, a species of monstrous spiders exist, as large as the land-crab, and said to be venomous. Their backs and their legs, which are as long as the finger of a man, and proportionably thick, are covered with a fine mouse-coloured hair. The sand-fleas are extremely numerous, especially in the huts that are built on a sandy-soil. They are so small that they can only be perceived by their numbers, and do not bite hard, but produce an intolerable prickling on the surface of the skin. Along the coast of Sierra Leona, the spermacete-whale, and other species, are numerous. They abound on most of the African coasts, and are

often of a prodigious size. Adanson relates, that he saw some about 160 feet long. On the coasts of Congo and Angola, the Portuguese carry on a considerable whale-fishery. In the river Sierra Leona there are various kinds of excellent fish, but it swarms with sharks and alligators, which, according to Mr Afzelius, are of a non-descript species, 10 or 12 feet in length. Their gall is reckoned the most deadly poison; and, as the natives use it to poison their arrows, the person who kills an alligator is obliged to prove, by two witnesses, that he emptied the gall in their presence. The Jaaja, or Mangrove, (*Palestuvier, French, Mangelaer, Dutch*) abounds in marshy grounds, and often line the shores of lakes and rivers, as well as of the sea. It is seldom more than 50 feet high; the leaves resemble the European laurel, and preserve their verdure through the year. From the lowest branches issue roots, which, hanging down to the water, penetrate the earth, and propagate from space to space, so that the branches of one trunk often extend many furlongs. These boughs resemble arcades from 5 to 10 feet high, which support the body of the tree, and are so closely intertwined, that they form a natural transparent terrace of such solidity, that a person may walk along from one to another. While the inferior boughs form an irregular pavement, those above form a pleasant shade, and others, in the middle, twisted irregularly, serve for

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seats, where a person may eat the oysters which every where cling to the lower branches on the spot where they grow. The Sierra Leona river bears the name of the Mitomba, to the distance of 30 leagues from its mouth. Its course has never been accurately explored, though the Portuguese Mulattoes, in the last century, often ascended far into the interior country to trade in slaves and the cola-nut. A Negro gravely assured Barbot that its source was in Barbary, because he had ascended till he saw the Moors. To this inland trade, it is extremely probable that the colonists of Sierra Leona will succeed, when they have extended their connections with the princes of the interior. The merchants of Fezzan, who are in possession of this trade, are subjected to the complicated disadvantages of a land-carriage of 3000 miles, of a high price, and an inferior quality of the goods they purchase in Barbary, and of the severe exactions which the despotic governments of that country impose. These goods the Sierra Leone may obtain at prime cost, of a superior quality, and transport to the same countries by a journey of 700 miles, through districts where the ancient barbarism of the natives is tempered by the courtesy of commerce, and where the intolerance of the Mahometan is softened by the mildness of the Negro character.

The population of the country near Sierra Leona bears no proportion to the extent of the terri-

tory or the quality of the soil. The country is divided into little independent states, which have no law but custom, and no policy, but to preserve their independence, and which are headed, rather than governed, by elective chiefs, that resemble our mayors in the nature of their power. These chiefs are generally chosen from their riches, and govern rather by chicane than force, and rather by force than justice. By increasing the number of his slaves, the chief acquires no internal, and little relative power; for, as domestic slaves form a part of the community, the other members are careful to acquaint them with their interest, which is never to aggrandise their master. As the liberty of the people is precarious, it is guarded with jealousy; as the customs of the country are the only protection of the individual, they are scrupulously supported, however ridiculous or bad. Domestic slavery prevails to such a degree, that, in many places, three-fourths of the natives are slaves. Though the customs of the country prohibit the master from selling, without accusing of a crime, those who are born his slaves, or who are domesticated by continuing twelve months in his possession; yet this practice does not fail to produce the natural effects of slavery,—depression of spirits and degeneracy of form. Occasional enormities are extremely common, and, in 1785, produced a general insurrection among the Mandingoes. The slaves attacked their masters, when

the greater part of the warriors were absent on an expedition, massacred numbers, set fire to the ripe rice, blockaded the towns, and obliged their tyrants to sue for peace. This political constitution of the country, this mutual jealousy and insecurity of intercourse between the different states, greatly impeded the colonists in their attempts to extend their connections with the native chiefs. The extensive influence of the slave-factories at first excited a general prejudice in the minds of the natives, who were taught that the colonists would encourage slaves to desert their masters, that they would abolish the customs of Africa, that they would deprive the chiefs of their power, and afterwards of the territories. Their tenacity of their customs in the most trivial circumstances, presents a formidable obstacle to the introduction of civilization among the Negroes. Custom requires the rice to be cut 6 or 8 inches below the ear, 1, 2, or 3 stalks at a time, according as they grow within the grasp of the knife and the right thumb. These stalks are transferred leisurely into the right hand, till it is almost full, when they are tied like a nosegay and put into a basket. When Dr Smeathman, who wished to save the straw for thatch, showed them the English mode of reaping, they disregarded his information, and obliged him to compel them to adopt it. The Doctor was informed by a chief, that such an innovation would have cost an African his life, as

he would have been accused of designing to overturn *the customs*, and obliged to drink the red water, which seldom fails to find the culprit guilty. As domestic slavery, and the traffic in slaves, constitute such an extensive and profitable branch of these *customs*, it is not remarkable that many chiefs have retained them with peculiar tenacity. Notwithstanding these original prejudices, the influence of the colony was so considerable, that, in the beginning of 1794, few slaves had been purchased for the space of a year between Cape Monte and Cape Verga, and extensive plantations of rice were commenced in the Suzee and Mandingo countries. On this occasion the governor and council attempted to ascertain the truth of that fact, which has been alledged in defence of the slave-trade, *That refused slaves are put to death by the natives*, but they were informed that none were put to death except for crimes or in war. A chief from Port Logo, being asked if refused slaves were killed, answered, "No, never in Port Logo, we carry them home and make them work." But will they not run away? "If they do, we can't help that, we can't kill them. If a man is too old to sell, he is too old to do you harm; what should you kill him for?" Did you ever see any refused slaves killed? "No, I am an old man, but I never saw that; if they do that in another country, I don't know that."

From Sierra Leona to Rio Nunez, the coast is

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flat, and inhabited by various communities of Bullams, Timmaneys, Bagoes, Suzees, Nalloes, and Mandingoes, whose territories intersect each other, whose boundaries vary with their power, and are never exactly defined. The Bullams, Timmaneys, and Bagoes, are stout, active, and tall men, of a good black colour, straight limbs, and pleasing features. The Timmaneys are remarkable for an open ingenuous countenance, and many of their women are extremely handsome. These tribes, with the Suzees, shave while young, but suffer their beards to grow when they acquire a silver hue. The Suzees are of a yellowish hue, but inferior in person to the former tribes, as they have thick lips and flatter noses. Their language is soft, and abounding in vowels and labial sounds, and seems to be the radical of the Bagoes, Bullam, and Timmaney dialects. The Suzees are supposed to have emigrated originally from the interior kingdom of Soosandoo intermediate to Manding, Bambarra, and Tombuctoo. The Nalloes are settled upon the southern bank of the Rio Nunez. They are very ingenious in the manufacture of cotton-cloth, which they sell to their more southern neighbours. These appear to be the Nyalas, who were described to Mr Watt as “ a particular tribe of  
“ Mandingoes, great travellers, respected by all  
“ the nations of Africa, orators so excellent, that  
“ they are employed as speakers in embassies,  
“ privileged that not even kings can take offence

“ at their words, who pass between contending armies, who defer the battle till they have passed.” Of this relation, probably the only accurate circumstance is, that they are excellent workers in leather, and that the artificers termed *Gaungays*, are generally of this nation. This agrees with the opinion of Mr Park, who imagined that the interpreter of Mr Watt had either misunderstood the relation, or been misinformed. The Bullams, Timmaneys, and Bagoes, acknowledge no superior power ; but the Suzees and Mandingoes, though more numerous, do homage to the king of the Foulahs. The Mandingoes are a tall slender race, of an indifferent black colour, and eyes remarkably small, who wear their beards like the Jews of Europe. In disposition they are equally credulous and inquisitive, polite in their address, though warm and impetuous when irritated ; their tempers are so gay and lively, that they will dance for 24 hours successively to the drum or balafou. The women are lively and agreeable, and the men active, strong, and capable of enduring great labour. They are commonly considered by the whites as an indolent and inactive race, though no nation exhibits greater exertion when occasion requires. They subsist entirely by their labour, but have no inducement to extensive cultivation of their fields, as they can find no market for their superfluous produce. When unoccupied in agriculture, the men em-

ploy themselves in hunting, and are such dexterous marksmen, either with musquets or with bows and arrows, that they strike a lizard on a tree, or any small object at a great distance. In the vicinity of rivers, they employ themselves in fishing with nets of cotton, or wicker-baskets. The women spin, and the men weave, the cotton-cloth of which their dresses are composed. The cotton is prepared for spinning, by rolling it with an iron spindle upon a smooth stone or board; the thread is coarse and well twisted, but the loom is so small and narrow, that the web is only about 4 inches broad. This cloth the women dye of a rich indelible blue with a purple gloss, with the leaves of indigo, pounded fresh, or dried and powdered, and mixed with a strong ley of wood-ashes. Weaving, sewing, and dyeing, are practised indiscriminately, and not reckoned distinct professions, like the manufactures of leather and iron. The manufacturers of leather, termed *Kanankeas* or *Gaungays*, separate the hair, by steeping the hides in a mixture of wood-ashes and water, and use the pounded leaves of the tree *goo*, as an astringent. They dye the skins of sheep and goats, red, with powdered millet stalks, and yellow with the root of an herb. The manufacturers of iron, smelt that metal in such quantities in the interior districts, that it becomes an article of commerce; and, though it is hard and brittle, form their weapons, instruments, and tools, with considerable in-

genuity. In smelting gold, they use an alkaline salt, obtained from a ley of burnt corn stalks, evaporated to dryness. Of the gold they form wire, and various ornaments for the women. In making baskets, hats, and other articles, of rushes and the fibres of cane, they are extremely skilful.

The Mandingoes are the most numerous race of Negroes in all the maritime regions between Cape Monte and the river Gambia, in the countries which extend far into the interior on both sides of the Gambia, and, in short, through the western quarter of the continent of Africa. They form the bulk of the population, even in many kingdoms, where the Foulahs are in possession of the sovereign power. In the character of travelling merchants and instructors of youth, they have insinuated themselves into all the Negro countries, where they are distinguished by wearing a red or white cotton cap and sandals. The Mandingo marabouts, who have learned to read and write Arabic, and who profess Mahometanism, visit the Pagan tribes, and erect schools in the villages; where the youth are instructed *gratis*; and, by the appearance of sanctity which they assume, the power of counteracting magic, to which they lay claim, their abstinence from strong liquors, and indulgence for the national foibles of the people among whom they reside, acquire an influence which is equally powerful and extensive. In the most of the Negro towns a Mandingo resides, who

is termed the *bookman*, without whose advice nothing of any importance is transacted. In almost every district of the interior, troops of Mandingo merchants occur, who, in their manners and habits resemble the mercantile Arabs. As the ideas of men are unfolded in proportion to the variety of objects presented to the senses, which, if not accurately, are at least hastily and tacitly compared by the mind, the intellectual powers of the Mandingoes are developed by the active exertions which these occupations require. In consequence of this, the Mandingo language is more copious, more refined and polite in its phraseology, than those which are spoken by the other Negro tribes; it is the language of commerce, with little exception understood through all the western quarter of Africa, and reported to be spoken on the banks of the Niger beyond Tombuctoo; after the Arabic, which contains the learning of books and religion, it is the learned language of Africa, and contains innumerable traditionary tales, fables, apologues, and songs. The Mandingoes derive their name from the interior state of Manding, whence they trace their origin. Manding lies in the most elevated track of north Africa, about the sources of the three great rivers, the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Niger, and is surrounded by the regions of Kaarta, Bambarra, Jallonkadoo, and Foolacloo. Kamaliah, one of its towns, visited by Mr Park, lies in  $12^{\circ} 46''$  N. Lat.

227 miles from Sego in Bambarra, and 154 miles from Jarra in Ludamar. Though Manding lies in such a high level, and abounds in gold, the country is neither mountainous nor barren. The government, in this parent state of the Mandingoes, is an imperfect species of aristocratical republicanism, though the monarchical form is adopted in the Mandingo districts, on the banks of the Gambia, and along the coast. In these states the power of the chief is controuled by a council of elders or principal men, without whose consent he can neither declare war nor conclude peace. As the Mandingoes are more intelligent than the other native tribes, except the Foulahs, and the islanders of Fernando Po in the gulph of Benin; an account of their institutions, customs, and opinions, will include a general outline of the Negro character. As the natural wants of man are limited by his constitution, and as his artificial desires can only arise from the modification or combination of his natural wants, his resources admit of little variation, and are always determined by the situation in which he is placed. As the corporeal and intellectual powers of man are similar in their operation, though different in the degrees of energy, he forms the same kind of hunter or warrior, in the rudest stages of his being, the same kind of shepherd or cultivator of the ground, in a state of greater civilization. Thus, among the Negroes, a general uniformity prevails in their

dress, in the structure of their habitations, in the form of their domestic utensils and instruments of war, as well as in their domestic and political economy, their amusements, their occupations, their marriage and funeral ceremonies. Among the Mandingoes, the dress of both sexes is formed of cotton-cloth manufactured by themselves ; that of the men consists of a loose shirt or frock with wide sleeves, drawers which reach the middle of the leg, a cap, and sandals, with two large straight knives hung in a sheath on the right thigh, one of which is for eating, and the other for fighting, similar to the patow-patows of the Sandwich islanders, or the snicka-snees of the whale-fishers. The dress of the women consists of two pieces of cloth, each of which is about 6 feet long and three broad ; the one is wrapt round the waist, and hangs down to the ancles, and the other is thrown negligently over the shoulders. In dressing their hair, the women of different nations adhere to the national mode, in the position and nature of their ornaments. The structure of their houses consists of a circular mud-wall about 4 feet high, with a conical bamboo-roof thatched with grass. A bed formed of a hurdle of canes, placed upon upright stakes, and covered with a bullock's skin or mat, a few wooden bowls, calabashes, and earthen pots for dressing food, with one or two wooden stools, compose the furniture of their houses. As separate apartments would be extremely in-

convenient, from the structure of the African houses, where there is a plurality of wives, each has a hut appropriated to herself, and those belonging to the same family are surrounded by a fence formed of bamboo wicker-work. A number of these inclosures, with intermediate passages, and without regular arrangement, form a town, which has commonly some resemblance to a number of large ant-hills. In most of the Mandingo towns, there are two public buildings, the *missura*, or mosque, where public prayers are offered, and the *bentang*, a large stage of interwoven bamboos, erected under a spreading tree, where public affairs are transacted, and where the indolent assemble to smoke their pipes and hear news. In every village there is a magistrate called the *Alkaid*, who preserves public order, levies the duties on merchants, and presides at the *palavers*, or courts of the elders, where justice is administered. At these courts, civil questions are debated, witnesses examined, and decisions pronounced according to the *customs of their fathers*. Where Mahometanism is generally received, the Koran is the rule of decision, or, where that is not sufficiently explicit, a commentary, termed the *Al Sharra*, which contains a digest of civil and criminal Mahometan laws. Those Mahometan Negroes, who have made the laws of the prophet their peculiar study, are retained in causes as professional advocates, and exhibit great dexterity in puzzling the judges.

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The conjugal affection among the Mandingoes, on account of the prevalent practice of polygamy, is seldom refined beyond mere animal appetite. Of the complicated evils that result from the system of domestic slavery, this is not the least pernicious. As the *custom of their ancestors*, whom the vulgar of every nation reckon wiser than themselves, preserves various traits of the original form of government among mankind, the despotism of the heads of families, it allows parents to sell their children, in order to relieve their own necessities, in cases uncommonly disastrous, as captivity or famine. The women, who are always dependent and always injured, are always slaves, whether of their fathers, brothers, or husbands. The husband who obtains a wife, acquires a servant, and the father, who resigns his daughter to a husband, loses the property of a valuable slave. Hence no person is willing to resign his daughter without an equivalent ; and hence, too, the husband is anxious to recover this equivalent by the personal labour of his wife ; or, rather, of that *procreating animal* he has purchased. Among the Mandingoes, and the greater part of the African tribes, it is reckoned quite unnecessary for a lover to make any overtures to his intended bride : as the common price of a wife is about the value of two slaves, he bargains with her parents, who, if they agree, eat a few *kola*-nuts to ratify the contract ; and, if the damsel refuses to assent, she must re-

main without a husband ; for, if she is given to another, the lover is authorized, by *the ancient custom*, to seize her for a slave. Among the tribes of Sierra Leona, particularly the Suzees, their marriages are often contracted in the infancy of the females, and frequently as soon as they are born. On the day of marriage, the bride is conducted with great parade to the house of the bridegroom, who is careful to station relays of people, with liquor and refreshments, along the road, as the attendants of the bride refuse to advance whenever the supplies fail. When they approach the house, the bride is covered with a robe of white cotton from head to foot, as, after this, no man is allowed to see her face, before consummation ; and is carried on the back of a woman to the house of her husband, while mats are spread along the path, that the feet of the person who carries her may not touch the ground. The matrons then place themselves round her in a circle, and give her a series of instructions concerning her future conduct in life. The young girls entertain the company with dances and songs, more remarkable for gaiety than decency, and the validity of the marriage is established by the exhibition of the signs of virginity, according to the Mosaic institutions ;—a custom that seems to have originated from the practice of cheapening and buying their wives. As a man is only limited in purchasing slaves, by his ability to maintain

them, no woman, who has herself been purchased, can ever have any power to restrain her husband in forming bargains, or any right to restrict his taste for variety. Adultery in the husband, according to the law of *ancient custom*, can only occur when he infringes the property of another; and, by a still more ancient law, that of *common sense*, adultery in the wife can never constitute a crime, where polygamy is allowed, whatever positive institutions may determine. In Sierra Leone, the natural sense of injustice often bursts the barriers of arbitrary restriction, and as the manufacture of locks, bolts, and bars, those guardians of female chastity, has not attained perfection in that country, and the law of force cannot be always conveniently executed, the husband is frequently obliged to connive at the infidelities of his spouses, and admit their connections with their *cicisbeos*. The Mandingo wives, in such cases, seldom attempt to impose a spurious offspring upon their husbands, but declare, before they are delivered, who is the father of the child; and, when a person wishes to have children by a favourite wife, he obliges her to swear upon the fetiche to be faithful for a specified time. Where the husbands are contented with one or two wives, instances of conjugal infidelity are uncommon; and wives seldom abuse the liberty, which they are allowed, of being present at public diversions. When there is a plurality of wives, they manage

domestic affairs in rotation. When quarrels occur, and the authority of the husband is insufficient to establish the peace of the family, recourse is had to MUMBO JUMBO. This strange minister of justice, who is either the husband, or some person whom he has appointed, announces his approach by dismal screams from the adjacent woods in the evening, and, as soon as it is dark, enters the town, dressed in a fantastic habit formed of bark, which generally hangs as a bugbear on a neighbouring tree, and proceeds immediately to the *Bentang*, where all the inhabitants assemble. The MUMBO JUMBO has absolute power; none appear covered in its presence, and every person is obliged to execute its commands. The figure is about 8 or 9 feet high, and wears a tuft of fine straw upon its head. As all the women suspect the visit may be for themselves, every one wishes to be concealed, but none dare refuse to obey the summons. The ceremony commences with songs and dances, which continue till midnight, when MUMBO fixes upon the offender, who is immediately seized, stripped naked, tied to a post, and severely scourged with MUMBO's rod, amid the shouts and derision of the whole assembly, when the rest of the women endeavour to exculpate themselves, by the vociferation of their abuse, and the severity with which they censure the culprit. The revel terminates at break of day. The mysteries of MUMBO JUMBO, like those of BELLI, are con-

ducted by a society of *illuminés*, who are bound by solemn oaths, never to divulge their secrets to a woman, or a boy under 16 years of age. Like the free-masons of Europe, they use a cant language which is unintelligible to the uninitiated. The women are taught, that the figure is a wild man, or some mysterious being acquainted with all their thoughts and actions; but it is suspected that many are shrewd enough to penetrate the imposture, and, by counterfeiting terror, lull their husbands into a security which enables them to manage their intrigues without hazard of discovery. In the year 1727, an artful woman, one of the wives of the king of Jogra, contrived to worm the secret from her husband, which she immediately disclosed to the other females of the family. This indiscretion soon reached the ears of some disaffected Negro chiefs, who were filled with consternation. Terrified at the probable rebellion and infidelity of their wives, they immediately assembled the Lodge, to deliberate in so critical a juncture, and resolved upon a measure equally bold and hazardous, which was executed with as much resolution as it was planned with sagacity. Mumbo Jumbo made his appearance with all possible solemnity, and ordered the king and his family to appear before his tribunal. With this order, the king was weak enough to comply; he appeared before the terrible unknown, and after being severely censured, he was ordered

to be assassinated, with all his family. Wherever the women are debased, the men are cruel and ferocious: where polygamy prevails, the women must be degraded, and as they are degraded, a nation must degenerate. On this account, the introduction of the Christian religion into Guinea, cannot fail to be productive of the most useful effects, by ameliorating the condition of the female sex. "In Sierra Leona," says Montefiere, "it is not uncommon to see a woman with two children in her arms, and a heavy load on her head, coming down from the mountains, whilst her husband walks behind without any incumbrance, except his gun, whistling and singing." The system of polygamy not only dissipates the conjugal affection, but weakens the attachment of the father to his own offspring, by dividing it among the children of different wives,—an effect observable in second marriages, where polygamy is prohibited. While it concentrates the jealous tenderness of the mother in the protection of her own children, it counteracts the negligence of the father, by increasing, in the same proportion, the maternal affection. The solicitude of the mother extends to the cultivation of the minds of her offspring, and she is particularly careful to inculcate the practice of truth. As nothing influences the character of the child so much as that of the mother, her tenderness not only influences the general disposition, but produces a return of affec-

tion. "Strike me, but do not curse my mother," is a common expression among the Negroes, and points out the highest indignity which can be offered to an African. "Alas!" says the benevolent St Pierre, "how little acquainted with the laws of nature are those, who, in the union of the two sexes, seek for nothing but the gratifications of sense! These only cull the flowers of life, without once tasting of its fruit. *The fair sex!*—say our men of pleasure, who are acquainted with women under no other name—but the sex are fair only to those who have no other faculties than sight. To those who have a heart, they are the creative sex, who, at the peril of life, carry man nine months in the womb; the cherishing sex, who suckle and take care of him in infancy. They are the pious sex, who conduct him to the altar, and teach him to imbibe, with the milk of the breast, the love of religion, which the cruel policy of men would often render odious. They are the pacific sex, who shed not the blood of a fellow creature; the sympathizing sex, who minister to the sick, with such tenderness as never to hurt them." Among the Mandingoes, when a wife is maltreated by her husband, she is permitted to appeal to the Alkaid, and to bring the subject to a public trial; but, as the cause is not to be terminated by a jury of matrons, but of married men, who are themselves interested in the de-

cision, her complaint is seldom considered in a very serious light. Upon the whole, the condition of an African wife is too faithfully delineated in that pathetic description of domestic slavery, given by the Jesuit Gumilla, in his account of the Indians on the banks of the Oroonoko. A female convert, of virtuous character, being reproached for the murder of a new-born female infant, by bleeding it to death by cutting the navel-string too near the body, heard him, with eyes fixed on the ground, and replied : “ I wish to God, father, “ I wish to God, that my mother had, by my “ death, prevented the manifold miseries I have “ endured, and have yet to endure, as long as I “ live. Had she kindly stifled me at birth, I “ would have been dead, but I would not have “ felt the pain of death, and would have escaped “ intolerable evils. Consider, father, our deplorable condition. Our husbands go to hunt with “ their bows and arrows, and trouble themselves “ no farther. We are dragged along, with one “ infant in a basket, and another hanging at the “ breast. They go a fishing or a fowling, while “ we till the ground, and, after the fatigues of “ culture, we are obliged to reap the crops. They “ return in the evening, without any burden, we “ return with the burden of our children. They “ entertain themselves with their friends, while “ we carry wood and water to prepare their supper. After supper, they go to sleep ; but,



“ though tired with a long march, we are not  
“ permitted to sleep, but must labour the whole  
“ night in grinding maize to make them chica.  
“ They drink, and, when drunk, beat us, drag us  
“ by the hair of the head, and trample us under  
“ their feet. It is hard to serve a husband as a  
“ slave, sweating in the field, and at home de-  
“ prived of repose. But what have we to com-  
“ fort us for slavery that has no end. After 20  
“ years labour, a young wife is brought in upon  
“ us, who is permitted to beat and abuse us and  
“ our children, because we are no longer regard-  
“ ed. These young inexperienced women, upon  
“ whom they fondly doat, domineer over us, treat  
“ us as servants, and the slightest murmur is si-  
“ lenced with the branch of a tree. Can human  
“ nature endure such tyranny ! What kindness  
“ can we show to our female children equal to  
“ that of relieving them from such oppression,  
“ more bitter a thousand times than death ? I  
“ say again, would to God that my mother had  
“ put me under ground the moment I was born.”  
The Negro women suckle their children till they  
are able to walk, and, during that period, have no  
connection with their husband. It is often three  
years before the child is weaned. The practice  
of circumcision is general, both among the Ma-  
hometans and Pagans, and is performed upon both  
sexes about the period of puberty. To induce

them to submit to this operation, another bugbear is provided, termed *Ho-rey*, who roars dismally from the woods, and is supposed to swallow uncircumcised boys. It is not regarded as a religious rite, but as a ceremony to prevent barrenness. The operation is performed on a number of persons at once, who are indulged with various liberties, and exempted from labour for two months afterwards, during which time, they form a society termed *Solimana*, (whence probably the *Soluentii* of Pliny) and entertain the neighbouring villages with their dances and songs. At this period, the youth are commonly instructed in the doctrines of their religion. Children receive their names when they are seven or eight days old. The ceremony consists in shaving the child's head, and preparing a dish termed *dega*, of pounded corn and sour milk, for the guests, over which the bushreen or priest, says a long prayer, while all the company hold the dish by the brim. He then takes the child in his arms, says another prayer, whispers in the child's ear, spits thrice in its face, pronounces its name aloud, and returns it to the mother. Along with his proper name, the Negro assumes the name of his clan or kontong. When the child is a few months old, the operation of tattowing is performed, by which not only the tribe, but the condition of the person is indicated, as it is not lawful to mark a slave in the manner of a free man.

Even the pagan Mandingoes believe in one God, the Creator and Preserver of all things ; but they believe him to be so remote, and so elevated in his nature, as not to be influenced by their petitions. They, however, address this Deity at the appearance of the new moon, which they believe to be newly created. They hope for protection from the subordinate spirits who rule the world, which they imagine are influenced by charms, *grisgris* or fetiches. They believe in a future state, concerning which they express themselves with great reverence, at the same time that they allow, “ no man knows any thing about it.” Their notions of geography and astronomy are extremely puerile, as in every rude nation. They represent the earth as a vast plain, the boundaries of which are covered with clouds and darkness. The sea is a river of salt water, beyond which lies *Tobonbo-doo*, the land of the white people ; and, at a still greater distance, *Koomi*, the land where the slaves are sold, inhabited by gigantic cannibals. Eclipses are attributed to enchantment, and the mechanical cause is supposed to be the interposition of a great cat, which extends her paw between the moon and the earth. They divide the year by *Moons*, and number the days by suns, while years are calculated by the number of rainy seasons. They bury the dead beside large trees, without placing any monument over the grave. Their funerals have a considerable resemblance to

the ancient late-wakes of Britain and Ireland, consisting of a wild tumultuous procession, complaining with dismal howls to the spirit of the deceased for forsaking his friends, and terminating in a revel of drinking, dancing and singing. This seems to have been the species of *rejoicing for the death of their friends*, which ancient authors report to have existed among the Thracians. Their musicians and poets, who are also *improvisatori*, resemble the Troubadours, Trouveurs, and Minstrels of the middle ages. They sing the praises of chiefs, and of the towns where they are hospitably treated; they recite the historical events of their country; and accompany the warriors to the field of battle, to animate them with their war-songs. There is also a class of musical dervises, who sing religious hymns, for averting calamity, or procuring prosperity and success.

The country of Sierra Leona is often denominated Bulamberre and Bulombel. In the beginning of last century, the king of the whole district was converted, with many of his chiefs and vassals, especially the Bullams, to Christianity, by the Portuguese Jesuits, but they soon relapsed into their ancient superstition. In 1666, the king of Burri was also converted, but his subjects could not be induced to follow his example. The Bullams, an honest tribe, though implacable in their resentment, are particularly attached to their superstitions. They think, that among the moun-

disposition. Their complexion is whiter than that of the greater part of the Negro tribes, but they slash and deform their faces with iron instruments, and turn their upper eye-lids outwards, in order to appear terrible to their enemies. They neither plant nor sow, but live by rapine and plunder; combining cruelty and carnage into a system, they neither give nor take quarter, but conquer or die, eat the flesh of their enemies, and drink their blood from cups formed of skulls. When annoyed by rain or thunder, they bend their bows against heaven, and curse the sea and the sky. They have often ravaged, in the most dreadful manner, Abyssinia, Monomotapa, Congo, Angola, and seem to have founded the empire of Monow, which, in the beginning of the present century, extended over Sierra Leona. They are sometimes termed the BALI, or shepherds, and extended their depredations even to Arabia. The Cumbas, who invaded the Capez of Sierra Leona, seem to have migrated from Kombah, which is placed behind Tonouwah and Dahomy, to the east of Degombah, between the Negro states of Kaffaba and Gago. Kaffaba, the Caphos of Ptolemy, lies about 10 journies east of Kong, and 18 north-east of Assentai, the capital of Tonouwah. The origin of the Giagas is commonly traced to the empire of Monoemugi, about the sources of the Nile and Zaize, or Cuama. Leo seems to allude to them in his account of Gaoga,

an extensive country, about 500 miles in every direction, which he places on the east of Bôrnou, and supposes to extend to Nubia. He describes the inhabitants as savage, illiterate, and ferocious, who depended for subsistence on their numerous herds and flocks, and who, at that period, harassed the neighbouring nations under the conduct of a Negro-slave, who had murdered his master. Whether any remains of this ferocious race exist in the vicinity of Sierra Leona, the future researches of the colonists will determine. At present, the history of the modern African tribes is equally obscure with that of the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians, and the nations that have been exterminated in the New World.

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\* Wadstrom's Essay on Colonization; Matthew's Voyage to the Coast of Africa; Leo Africanus; Rennell's Geographical Illustrations; African Association; Barbot's Guinea; Moore's Travels in the interior parts of Africa; Labet's *Afrique Occidentale*; Park's Travels in Africa; Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia.

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## CHAP XI.

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ACCOUNT OF THE BIASARAS, BALANTES, PAPELS, BANYANS,  
AND FELOOPS, BETWEEN RIO NUNEZ AND THE GAMBIA—  
THE BISSAGOES—BULAMA-COLONY—JOURNEY OF MESSRS  
WATT AND WINTERBOTTOM, TO LASY AND TEEMBOO—  
ACCOUNT OF THE FOULAHS—SENEGAMBIA—THE JALOFFS  
—THE SERAWOOLLIES—BAMBOUK—THE MOORS OF THE  
NIGER—JOURNEY OF MAJOR HOUGHTON.

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THE fertile region which lies between Rio Nunez and the Gambia, is inhabited by numerous independent tribes of Nalloes, Biafaras, Bissagoes, Balantes, Papeles, Banyans, and Feloops, that, with a general similarity, exhibit many particular differences of language, customs, and manners, while the Fouliconda, or towns of the Foulahs, and Manraunda, or towns of the Mandingoes, continually interrupt and intersect their territories. The Biafaras lie chiefly on the northern side of the Rio Grande, and possess the districts of Ghinala and Biguba. Whether they derive their origin from the interior kingdom of Biafara, which lies east from Benin and Dahomy, the Dauma of Leo, and runs round the Gulph of Ethiopia, at a dis-

tance from the shore, to which, at the Calabar rivers, its inhabitants are often brought to be sold as slaves,—is extremely uncertain, but not improbable. In the beginning of this century, they moistened the graves of their deceased chiefs with the blood of their wives and slaves, and worshipped the idol CHIN or CHINA, perhaps the CHUON of the Egyptians, which had the head of a bull or ram, and was formed either of wood, or a paste of millet flower kneaded with blood, and mixed with hair and feathers.

The Balantes, on the banks of the river Geves, possess a territory about 12 leagues in length, and of the same breadth, which is supposed to contain gold mines. They sometimes trade with the neighbouring tribes, in rice, maize, poultry, oxen, and goats, but never contract marriages with them, nor permit them to enter their country. They are equally industrious and warlike, and never traffic in slaves.

The Papels are an active warlike people, who possess the island of Bissao and part of the adjacent continent. They speak a peculiar language, and have adopted many customs from the Portuguese, who have been long settled among them. They are reckoned the most skilful rowers on the coast, and are generally at war with all their neighbours.

The Banyans, or Bagnons, who are more civilized than any of their neighbours, are a brave



industrious tribe. Their women, when at work, are said, by De la Brue, to fill their mouths with water, to prevent interruption from loquacity. If the author was serious, it is a wonderful proof of their industry !

The Feloops, who possess that part of the coast which extends from Rio St Domingo to the Gambia, are a rude but industrious nation, who have little intercourse with their neighbours. They have always opposed, with success, the attempts of the Mandingoes to subdue them, even when assisted by the Portugueze. Their character displays considerable energy, as their fidelity is incorruptible, and their affection to their friends only equalled by their implacable resentment against their enemies. They never forget a favour, or an injury, and transmit their family feuds from generation to generation. When any person is slain in a quarrel, his eldest son procures his father's sandals, which he wears once a year, on the anniversary of the murder, till he can revenge his death. They trade with Europeans in rice, goats, poultry, wax, and honey, and, in their transactions, employ a Mandingo factor, who appropriates a part of the purchase, which is termed *cheating money*, to himself, which he receives when the Feloop is gone. In those parts of the country, where any ravages have been committed by Europeans, they never give quarter to a white.

The Bissagoes or Bijugas inhabit a chain of low islands, which lie off the Rio Grande. They are tall, resolute, and robust, and adorn their houses with the scalps of their enemies. Impatient of slavery, they murder themselves upon receiving an affront; intrepid in war, they are believed to be sprung from the terrible Giagas or Jagos. They are extremely ingenious, and easily learn whatever they are taught. These islands, which are extremely fertile, though depopulated exceedingly by the slave-trade, were probably the Hesperides of the ancients. On Boulama, or rather Bulama, which lies in the mouth of the Rio Grande, and is enumerated among the group of the Bissagoes, a colony was planted in 1792, by an association who assumed their name from the island. Bulama is about 18 miles in length, and in some places almost as many in breadth. The land rises gradually from the shore to the centre of the island, which is about 100 feet above the level of the sea, and lies in N. Lat.  $11^{\circ}$ . and W. Long.  $15^{\circ}$ . from the meridian of London. When settled by Lieutenant Philip Beaver, who conducted the expedition, it had been for a considerable time uninhabited; the Bissagoes having expelled the Biafaras, the former possessors, and only resorting to it themselves to hunt, and plant maize and rice; it had been at three different times proposed to the French government for colonization; in 1700 by De la Brue, in 1767 by De-

manet, and in 1787 by Barber, an Englishman residing at Havre de Grace. The fertility of the soil, its central situation for the coasting trade of Africa, its proximity to the Gambia, Grande, and Nunez rivers, recommended it to the Managers of the Bulama Association as an eligible situation for establishing a colony. As soon as a subscription sufficient to defray the expences of the voyage, and to provide necessaries for the colonists, was raised by the Association, three vessels sailed from Spithead on the 11th of April with 275 persons, conducted by Mr Dalrymple. As the subscription had not only been filled with extreme precipitancy, but the colonists had been engaged as they presented themselves, without discrimination, the greater number of these persons were unprincipled men, of ruined fortunes and characters, or, as they are described by Mr Beaver, "drunken, lazy, dishonest, impatient, cowards." They had embarked in this expedition, without having considered either the difficulties or the dangers which they had to encounter; without having reflected upon the difference of the situation in which they were to be placed, from that to which they had been accustomed. The views of the subscribers were partly agricultural, and partly commercial. The majority proposed to cultivate cotton, sugar, coffee, tobacco, and indigo, while others expected to establish a lucrative commerce with the natives in ivory,

wax, and the other productions of Africa. Some authors affirm, that Hope is never so sanguine as when it is without foundation ; but whatever expectations were entertained by the colonists before their arrival in Africa, it is certain that these were very soon dissipated. The vessel which first arrived at Bulam having neglected to procure an interpreter, or make any propositions to the Bissagoes, the lords of the soil, immediately landed a party of men to take possession. The Bissagoes of Canabac, who did not clearly comprehend the propriety of this proceeding, surprised this party, killed 7 men and 1 woman, and carried off 4 women and 3 children. It is often very difficult to settle the questions of right and wrong between the rude natives of a country, and the colonists who are permitted to settle in their territories. The original planters of New England having discovered a hoard of Indian corn, belonging to the natives, carried it off for seed, intending, as they said, " to pay the Indians when the soil paid THEM." The colonists of Bulama, however, can only be charged with want of caution, since the vessels which contained the goods for the purchase of the island, and traffic with the natives, had not yet arrived. Instructed by this preliminary error, Mr Dalrymple embarked his men, and sailed to Bissao, where he found the other vessels. From Bissao he dispatched a sloop, to explain his intentions to the Canabacs, and bring

back the women and children who had been taken at Bulama. The embassy was successful, and, on the 29th of June 1792, the sovereignty of the island of Bulama was ceded to the King of Great Britain, *for ever*, by the kings of Canabac. The cession of the island of Arcas, and the adjacent land on the continent, was likewise obtained from the kings of Ghinala, on the 3d of August. Though the success of the expedition had, as yet, exceeded probability, the greater number of the colonists were miserably disappointed. Instead of finding mines of gold ready wrought, or sugar, coffee, cotton, and indigo, fit for manufacture, they had found a soil of surprising fertility, but they plainly perceived that it was necessary to clear and cultivate this soil before they could derive any profit from its productions. They found that it was necessary to build houses for their shelter, to plant rice and maize for their subsistence; and therefore dreading the rainy season, and chagrined at the Canabacs, both on account of the courage they had displayed, and on account of their indolence in leaving the island in so bad a state of cultivation, they all returned in the same ships to England, except a few who sailed to America and the West Indies; and Mr Beaver, who remained as chief of the colony, with 20 men, 4 women, and 4 children. The judicious discrimination that had been employed in the choice of colonists by the Sierra Leona Company, was one

of the original causes which had so rapidly swelled the lists of the Bulama subscribers ; and the consequence of this inattention was, that the majority of those who went out with Mr Dalrymple, were persons of the most infamous characters and vicious habits. When the numerous convicts of Britain were accustomed to be transported to America, Dr Franklin thought, that the only method by which America could testify her gratitude, was by returning an equal number of rattlesnakes to her mother country. Yet such were the crew of idlers, drunkards, cowards, and assassins, accustomed to live in open violation of law, who were left with Mr Beaver, in a situation where no species of authority could be legally enforced. They had arrived at the most improper season of the year, just before the commencement of the rains ; and, as they had brought no materials for building, the timber was then growing in the ground, of which their houses were to be formed. By exposure to the rains, and the vertical rays of the sun, great sickness and mortality were produced, before any buildings could be erected. As the situation of Mr Beaver precluded every idea of selection, the character of the grumettas, or free blacks, engaged as labourers, was equally execrable with that of the white colonists : about one fourth had committed murder at Bissao, and numbers were discharged for attempting to stab or assassinate others. This

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motely and vicious group, not all the fortitude and heroic perseverance of a Beaver, aided by the exertions of some virtuous and respectable colonists could inspire with a spirit of industry, order, and firmness. Notwithstanding the general sickness and despondency, the blockhouse, for the defence and accommodation of the settlers, was completed in November, and considerable progress made in clearing the ground for plantations. Immediately afterwards, they were alarmed by the visit of an armed body of the Canabacs, commanded by one of their chiefs, notorious for his treachery, and famous for his exploits. He was heard by one of the grumettas declaring to his men, "That the whites were all dead, or sick, except the captain, that they were his people whenever he pleased; that he had put them there, and, whenever he chose, could take them away; that *they were his chickens*," an expression which he commonly applied to the Biafaras, to denote the facility with which they are made prisoners. Though the active force of Mr Beaver at this period only amounted to four colonists and six grumettas, his activity and vigilance so much disconcerted the Canabacs, that they departed without any act of hostility. The panic excited by this visit, did not however subside at their departure, and Mr Beaver was deserted by all the grumettas except two, who were sent to Bissae for a reinforcement, and by one of the only sur-

surviving colonists whom sickness permitted to move. When they left Bulama, there remained only one man fit for duty, and 7 that were sick ; so that while another visit of the Bissagoes was hourly expected, the whole colony were hardly able to dig a grave. Before the return of the Canabacs, Mr Beaver had been reinforced by grumettas, and afterwards a much stronger party were deterred from venturing upon hostilities, by the arrival of a British sloop of war in the offing. Till the block-house was completed, self-preservation had obliged the colonists to work on the Sabbath, but, from that period, the irregularity was discontinued, and Mr Beaver read prayers at the usual time, and instructed them in the use of artillery and small arms, in the evening. The Biafaras and Papels, as well as the Portugueze of Bissao, had always exhibited the most friendly dispositions. The Biafaras solicited Mr Beaver to form a settlement at Ghinala, and also at Bulola, 70 miles up the Rio Grande ; and the king of the Papels had sent a message to the first colonial vessels who arrived at Bissao, to induce them to settle on his territories, engaging to protect them against the Portugueze, who wished to engross the trade of the island. In the meantime, the agents of the system of slavery were not inactive. Mr Beaver's dispatches were detained by the captain to whom they were committed ; the colony was represented as infected with the pestilence,



the rivers Gambia and Falemè. Foolah-doo and Brooko, along the upper part of the Senegal, Was-sela beyond the upper part of the Niger, Massina, which lies on the same river, to the east of Tombuctoo, and Foota-Jallo, of which Teemboo is the capital, which borders on the interior of Sierra Leona, and is reckoned the most powerful. On the banks of the Gambia, and through the windward coast, they have introduced themselves into the greater part of the native states, in the character of shepherds and cultivators of the ground, emigrating at pleasure, and paying a tax to the lords of the soil for the lands they occupy. In many of these small states, the sovereignty fluctuates with the migration of the inhabitants, and is possessed alternately by the Foulahs and the Mandingoes, or other tribes, according to the proportion of the population. The Foulahs are chiefly of a tawny complexion, between the jet black and the true olive, with a thin face, a Roman nose, small pleasing features, and long soft silky hair. Their complexion varies with the districts they inhabit, approaching yellow in the vicinity of the Moors, and among the Negroes deepening into a muddy black, like that of the Mandingoes. They are very similar to the East Indian Lascars, and neither exhibit the jetty colour, the crisped hair, the flat noses, nor the thick lips, of the Mandingoes and Jaloffs. By the Negroes they are reckoned an intermediate race, who derive their clay-

colour from the intermixture of Moorish blood ; while they themselves regard the Negroes as their inferiors, and class themselves among white nations. Their stature is of the middle size, their form graceful and manly, and their air peculiarly polished and insinuating ; but they are neither so tall nor so robust, as the other Negroes. The women are handsome and well-shaped, the symmetry of their features regular, and their air delicate and sweet. They are passionately fond of dress, and as well acquainted with the management of the spleen and vapours as European ladies, when their husbands refuse to indulge them. In their ornaments they display considerable taste, which is as uncommon among rude nations as among those who are civilized. All rude tribes are extremely fond of ornaments, but are often fantastic and extravagant in their fashions and taste. The fashions of dress admit of little variety, as they are defined by the human form, which never varies, and adapted to the particular climate as modified by heat or cold, dryness and moisture ; but the province of ornaments is the very reign of fancy, where fashion riots unbounded, and vanity racks invention. The ancient Virginians were not only accustomed to tattlew the figures of snakes and reptiles on their skins, but often appeared in full dress, with a dead rat hanging by its tail, which was inserted in the perforation of the ear, or with a living snake passed through the

same aperture, flapping their faces, and twisting round their necks. From similar customs among the Africans, we may easily deduce the origin of the Gorgons and Furies of Grecian antiquity. As the Foulahs are extremely fond of music, and deem practical skill an accomplishment even in their chiefs, their national airs have a peculiar character, and are melodious, tender, and pleasing. Like the rest of the Negro tribes, they have an excessive passion for dancing. Their natural disposition is gentle, and they are celebrated for the general exercise of hospitality; but, as they are, in many places, more rigid Mahometans than the Mandingoes, they are also more reserved to those whom their religion pronounces infidels. Their intolerance, however, never extends to their own countrymen, who retain the ancient Pagan religion, or intermingle its tenets with those of the Koran, which is a very common practice among the Negro tribes. There are few instances of a Foulah insulting another, and none of their selling their countrymen for slaves. If a Foulah have the misfortune to be enslaved, all his clan or village unite to procure his ransom. This mild and peaceable character has obtained them such respect, that, in many of the Mandingo countries, it is reckoned infamous to injure a Foulah. It does not proceed from pusillanimity, for their courage has been often tried; and no nation in Africa display greater bravery, or manage their arms with

more dexterity. They support the aged and the infirm of their own nation, and have often relieved the necessities of the Mandingoes. The affairs of government are conducted with moderation and equity, and the laws of Mahomet are reckoned sacred and decisive. The Arabic is studied as a learned language, and generally understood, but the Foulah language is peculiar to themselves. They seem to be the Leucæthiopes of Ptolemy and Pliny; the white Ethiopians, or those of a whiter complexion than the majority. The position assigned them by Ptolemy, accords with the present situation of the Foulahs, in the parallel of 9° N. bounded on the north by the mountains of Ryssadius or Kong, which separated the courses of the *Stacbir* and *Nia* rivers, the Gambia and Rio Grande of the moderns. Pliny, who places them between the Negroes and the Moors, seems to have alluded to the tribes settled on the Senegal.

Foota-Jallo, the extensive and powerful state in the interior of Sierra Leona, was explored in 1794 by Messrs Watt and Winterbottom, two gentlemen in the service of the Sierra Leona Company, who undertook this expedition upon being informed by some of the Foulahs, that their king was desirous of establishing an intercourse with the colony. They sailed up the Rio Nunez to Kocundy, where they procured interpreters and guides, and experienced various civilities from a mulatto trader in its vicinity. Leaving Kocundy

Feb. 7. 1794, they travelled 16 days through a country in many places barren, but in others extremely fruitful, abounding remarkably in cattle. After crossing some small rivers, among which the Dunso seems to be a continuation of the Rio Grande, they arrived at Laby. Soon after their departure from Rio Nunez, they found that a considerable intercourse subsisted between the interior districts and the higher parts of the river, and often met 5 or 600 Foulahs in a day, carrying on their backs large burdens of rice and ivory, to exchange for salt, which in the interior countries is the greatest of all luxuries, both on account of its scarcity, and the painful longing that the constant use of vegetable food produces. A child will seek a piece of rock-salt as if it were sugar, and a rich man is described by the phrase *he eats salt with his victuals*. In the towns, which they met in succession at the distance of 6, 8, or 10 miles, they were entertained with hospitality, and conducted in safety from one place to another with their baggage. Laby, which is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles in circumference, and contains, as they imagined, about 5000 people, lies almost due east from Kocundy, at the distance of 200 miles. Here they enquired concerning Cassina and Tombuctoo. The route to Cassina was represented as extremely dangerous, but a free communication was said to subsist between Laby and Tombuctoo, though a journey of 4 months distant from each other.

The route was described as proceeding through six intervening kingdoms, the names of which were Beliah, Bowria, Manda, Segoo, Susundoo, and Genah, of which the last was said to be the most rich. Segoo is the Sego of Mr Park, the capital of Bambarra; Manda is Manding, and Bowriah seems to be Boori, adjacent to Manding. At the distance of 30 days journey from Teamboo, the road was said to lie along a *great water*, across which the eye could not reach, which was sweet and good to the taste; by which no *inland sea* seems to have been intended, but the Niger or *Joliba*, which in the Mandingo language signifies *the great river*, or its expansion in the lake Dibbie. At Laby, the travellers were received with the utmost hospitality by the chief subordinate to the king of the Foulahs, who offered to send one of his sons to be educated in England, and one of the chief Marabouts seemed inclined to follow his example. From Laby, they advanced 72 miles towards the interior, and arrived at Teemboo, the capital of Foota Jallo, which contains 7000 inhabitants. At Teemboo they remained 14 days, and held various conversations with the king, and with many of the chiefs, through the intervention of their interpreter. The kingdom of Foota Jallo is about 350 miles from east to west, and 200 from north to south. The climate is good, the soil is stony and dry: about one third is extremely fertile, and produces rice and maize,

which the women cultivate, and the men carry to market, in loads of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cwt. which rise 4 feet above their heads. In some of these trading journeys they carry provisions along with them for 8 weeks. Their cattle, horses, mules, asses, sheep, and goats, pasture on the hilly grounds, which contain considerable quantities of iron stone. They dig and manufacture a species of iron which is extremely malleable. The mines are extremely deep, with many galleries or horizontal passages, which are very long, and in some places high and wide, with openings for the admission of air and light. They are wrought by women, who carry victuals along with them when they descend. At Laby and Teamboo, which is about 160 miles distant from Sierra Leona, they manufacture narrow cloths, of which their dress is composed, and work in iron, silver, wood, and leather. Their houses are well built, neat and convenient, placed at a distance from each other, to guard against fire, a precaution which never occurs to the Mandingoes. Among their amusements, horse-racing may be enumerated. The markets and channels of trade, are under the regulation of the king, whose power is, in many respects, arbitrary, and his punishments severe. As there are schools in every town, the majority of the people are able to read, and many possess books of law and divinity. They profess the Mahometan religion, have numerous mosques,

and are not bigots, though they pray five times in the day. On a sudden emergency, the Foulahs can bring into the field no less than 16,000 cavalry. As they are surrounded with 24 nations, many of whom are Pagans, their religion affords them a pretext for the acquisition of slaves by war. Some of the nations with whom they engage in war, build forts for their defence, of brick, strongly interlaced with timber. The walls of these forts are 6 feet in thickness; they are of a square form, with a tower furnished with stairs at each angle, loop holes dispersed along the walls, the gate concealed, and the whole fortress surrounded with a deep and wide ditch, slightly covered with sticks and earth. As the Foulahs have no method of assaulting these forts, they can only reduce them by blockade, which is for the most part unsuccessful, as they contain springs, and are generally stored with provisions. The king's vicegerent, in a conversation with the travellers, openly avowed that the sole object of the wars of Teemboo was to procure slaves, "as they could not obtain European goods without slaves, nor slaves without making war." He also admitted, that the old men and old women captured in these wars, who were known to be unsaleable, were put to death, by cutting their throats. When the travellers suggested, that, by a trade in ivory, rice, cattle, and the other native produce of the country, they might acquire wealth without going

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to war for slaves, by which they must certainly offend the God to whom they prayed five times in the day. "The people on whom we make war," replied he, "never pray to God: we do not go to war with people who serve God Almighty." He farther stated, that the European factories would not trade with guns, powder, and cloth, for any articles except slaves. Similar conversations were held with the king of the Foulahs, and several of the chiefs. The king declared, that he would renounce the slave-trade, if a trade in native produce could be established. One of the chiefs who defended the religious wars, admitted, that if the Foulahs could procure European goods without making war, he would believe that God would be offended; but as this was impossible, God could not be angry, especially when *the book* desired them to make war on nations that would not serve him. The travellers replied, that though there were many good things in *the book*, yet the Devil had certainly inserted that passage, for God was so good and merciful, that he must hate men who destroyed their fellow creatures; and, that the Foulahs ought to instruct those who were more ignorant than themselves. They learned; however, that the wars of Teemboo had ceased, since the wars of Europe had checked the slave-trade. They recommended the use of the plough in cultivation, which had never been heard of in the Foulah country; and the king offered to furnish any Eu-

fopean with land, cattle, and men, who should settle among them. From Teemboo, Messrs Watt and Winterbottom returned by a different route, escorted by a strong body of Foulahs, sent by the king. When they arrived at the borders of the Suzee country, the Suzees suspected that the Foulahs had come to attack them ; but these suspicions were removed at a convention of the chiefs, who determined that *the path should be permanently opened through their country*, and an intercourse allowed between Teemboo and Sierra Leona. The houses of Sayoua, one of the Suzee towns through which they passed, were even superior to those of Teembo. The travellers were attended to Sierra Leona by several considerable men, who came as ambassadors from the Foulahs and other tribes, who, after arranging some commercial plans, returned highly gratified with their reception.

In the kingdoms possessed by the Foulahs, the rural and domestic œconomy, as well as the manners, religion, and government, are almost the same as in Foota Jallo. Even on the banks of the Gambia, the Foulahs raise the greater part of the corn, and their cattle are better and more numerous than those of the Mandingoes. They are so expert in the breeding and management of cattle, that the Mandingoes generally entrust theirs to their care. They render them tame and tractable by kindness and familiarity ; feed them by day in

the woods and savannahs, and by night secure them in folds strongly fenced, round which fires are kept burning by the herdsmen, who remain in a hut erected in the middle, to guard them from wild beasts and robbers. They make considerable quantities of butter; but, like all the other inhabitants of Africa, are entirely ignorant of the art of making cheese. Their aversion to innovation, the heat of the climate, and the scarcity of salt, are circumstances which prevent its introduction. If they discover that a person boils milk, to whom they have sold it, they never sell him any more, from a superstitious idea that it prevents the cow from yielding it. Their horses, which are of the Arabian breed, mixed with the original African, are excellent. The Foulahs are expert intrepid hunters, and kill lions, tigers, elephants, and other wild beasts, with their muskets and poisoned arrows. In poisoning their arrows, they take the leaves of a shrub, termed koonah, which is a species of *ecbites*, common in the woods, and, by boiling them in water, procure a black juice, in which they dip a cotton thread, and fasten round the barbs of the arrow.

From Fouladoo, near the sources of the Senegal and Niger, they have emigrated in powerful clans, and acquired numerous territories, especially along the courses of these rivers, and of the Gambia. The space intercepted between the courses of the Gambia and Senegal rivers, is of

a triangular form, the narrow extremity of which is occupied chiefly by the kingdoms of Bambouk and Kajaaga, or Galam, inhabited by the Serawoollies, and Bondou, and Foota Torra, which belong to the Foulahs. The sources of the Senegal and Gambia lie at the distance of 100 miles from each other in Jallonkadoo. The Mandingoes and Foulahs occupy the greater part of the Gambia from its source to the ocean. But the maritime and interior region between the mouths of the Senegal and Gambia, which is often denominated Senegambia, is chiefly possessed by the Jalloffs, Joloffs, Oualloffs, or Yaloffs.

Senegambia is amazingly fertile in the vicinity of the Gambia ; the soil is rich and deep, and produces grain, legumes, roots, and fruits, almost spontaneously. The dry elevated grounds produce guavas, acajous, papaws, orange and citron-trees ; cassada, ignames and yams multiply in the open sandy soils ; pepper, ginger, and the banana grow on the black and moist clays. The country, which is covered with wood, presents a dead level appearance, with little variety of scenery. Receding from the Gambia, the soil is devoid of stones, and consists of fine red sand, mixed with clay and the fragments of shells. The appearance of the open grounds is inconceivably bleak, like that of a country destroyed by an inundation, with the trees and shrubs emerging from the sand.

which the water has deposited. The open ground is every where interrupted by impenetrable forests of trees growing close to each other, covered and intertwined with luxuriant ivy, and morasses, where the reeds rise to a prodigious height. When the open grounds are covered with rice, maize, and millet, the desert is transformed into the most beautiful cultivated country. Towards the interior, the proportion of sand diminishes, and the clay is mixed with stones, till the ground becomes mountainous and rocky in Fouta-Torra, Bondou, and Kajaaga. The palms of Senegambia, often rise to the height of 80 feet, and the ceyba, or *benten*, to 120. The *babobab*, *goui*, or calabash-tree, grows to a prodigious size, the circumference of the trunk being often 65 feet, when its height is only about 60. The acacia-trees are of a great height, and are generally covered with bright yellow flowers of a fragrant odour. The wood is hard and compact like ebony, and resembles the bark in colour, which is red, white, black, or green. As they are often covered with red ants, that blister the body where they touch it, it is impossible to enjoy their shade. The insects, reptiles, fowls, and wild beasts, are of the same species as on the south side of the Gambia, but perhaps more numerous. Toads abound, but there are few frogs, and these are of a peculiar species, of a green colour, variegated with black spots, smaller, but more compact, than those of

Europe. Bees swarm in the woods, and form their hives in the hollow trunks of trees. Their honey is liquid, resembling a brown syrup, and never acquires consistency like that of Europe, which it excels in flavour. Some of the Negroes are well acquainted with the management of bees. De la Brue, in his voyage to Galam, was visited by one who called himself *King of the Bees*, who was always attended by immense numbers that covered him in a swarm. The low ground, in the vicinity of the Gambia, is illuminated by phosphorous beetles, that, during the day, lurk in the crevices of the soil, and, at night, fly about like twinkling stars. The beetle is brown, flat, and scaly; the phosphoric matter is lodged in the three last rings of the body, and only shines when the animal is in motion. Enormous spiders are numerous, and their threads are often sufficiently strong to suspend a weight of several ounces. The cameleon is also found in Senegambia, and the results of various experiments on this animal, are stated by Prelon\*. It successively assumed the

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\* Prelon, director of the hospital at Goree, arrived there in 1787, and remained in that situation two years and an half. At his return to France, he was made principal secretary of the board of trade and of the arts. He published a memoir on the isles of Goree and Senegal, in the *Annales de Chimie*, of September 1793. Besides De la Brue and Barbot, the district of Senegambia has been described by Saugnier, who made

various shades of yellow, green, and grey, which last became deeper, when it was sick or enraged. It was unable to imitate every colour ; for, when placed in a box lined with scarlet cloth, it did not become red. When kept without food, it was gradually emaciated, and died in 12 days, when its stomach was found empty. Pælon thinks the change of colour proceeds from a double epidermis, the one of a bright yellow, the other of a deep blue, the distance between which, and also the quantity of blood propelled to the extremities, he imagines to be modified by the affections of the animal. As its eyes are extremely prominent and mobile, it is capable of twofold distinct vision. Its optic axes comprehend an angle of about 280 degrees, while the one eye views objects behind it, on the one side, and the other, those which are before it in an opposite direction. Along the

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made the voyage of Galam, in 1785; and by Adanson, who arrived at Senegal April 25th 1749, and remained five years in the country. Adanson, as well as Demanet, who published his *Nouvell. Hist. de l' Afr. Franc.* 2 vol. 12mo, in 1767, is accused by Saugnier of embellishing his narrative, and describing as a paradise the most execrable country in the world. But it ought to be considered, that Adanson was a naturalist, and Saugnier a merchant; that the same objects are not interesting to the merchant and to the naturalist; and that the minute description of the accurate naturalist never conveys the general effect of a scene or group of objects to a general reader.

coast, there are numerous vestiges of basaltic columns, which has induced both Prelon and Afzelius to conclude, that various islands and mountains are of volcanic origin; but their authority should be admitted with caution, as both French and Swedish mineralogists confound basalt with lava, though its origin be extremely different. The island of Gorée is barren, rocky, and of considerable elevation; that of Senegal is a large sand bank, almost level with the water. The shores are lined with mangroves, and they are covered with bind-weed, guinea-grass, and the ligneous herb basil, which grows to a shrub two feet high, the leaves and stem of which are of a reddish green, and diffuse a citron fragrance. During the rainy season, from 50 to 60 inches of water falls, and sometimes 6 or 7 in a single shower. This enormous quantity is immediately imbibed by the sandy soil, which, in some places, is soon covered with mushrooms of a pleasing odour and excellent flavour. Cape Verd is in N. Lat.  $14^{\circ} 48'$ , W. Long. of Greenwich  $17^{\circ} 34'$ , and Fort St Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal, in N. Lat.  $16^{\circ} 5'$  and W. Long.  $16^{\circ} 5'$ .

The Jaloffs, or Oualoffs, who occupy the greater part of the Senegambia, are a nation distinct from the other tribes of Negroes, not only in government and language, but in complexion and features. Their stature is tall, their form active



and robust, their skin smooth, their features regular, their complexion the deepest jet black, but their noses are neither so much depressed, nor their lips so protuberant, as those of the Mandingoes. Their ideas of beauty are very similar to those of Europeans, as they admire an aquiline nose, a small mouth, thin lips, and lively eyes. In their dispositions, manners, superstitions, and forms of government, they bear a close resemblance to the Mandingoes, whom they excel in the manufacture of cotton cloth, as they form a finer thread, a broader web, and dye it of a superior colour. The uniform of the chief of Kayor's army is yellow cotton cloth, manufactured and dyed by his own subjects. Great quantities of a species of bean are exported to Marocco, for the purposes of dying. The moral and intellectual character of the Jaloffs has been very differently represented by different authors, and seems to admit of the same variety as among all other rude tribes. Susceptible of vivid impressions, they are entirely under the domination of the particular passion by which they are actuated ; or, they literally represent a passion personified. In the towns on the coast, they are the most dexterous of thieves. As they are able to use their toes with the same adroitness as their fingers, to hold a piece of board, while they saw it with their hands, in a sitting posture, or to pick up a pin from the ground, they often avail themselves of this dex-

terity. When they perceive a knife, a toy, a pair of scissars, that attracts their attention, they turn their backs upon it, and, while they engage in conversation with the owner, seize it artfully with their toes, and throw it into a kind of pouch which they wear behind. When the mountaineers come to trade in these towns, they are amazed to see their goods vanish from before their eyes, without perceiving the thieves, and imagine it is done by enchantment. The Jaloffs are a powerful warlike race, intrepid hunters of wild beasts, and equal to the Moors in the management of horses. At their festivals, the exhibition of feats of horsemanship forms a part of the solemnity. Their horses imitate a dance, a chace, or a combat, in an admirable manner, curvet round in a ring, advance 40 or 50 yards on their hind-feet alone, and strain so low with their bellies on the ground, as to pass under the houses of the Negrôes, which are not above 4 feet high. Rude nations imitate their own mode of hunting in their warfare. Thus, the Jaloffs advance to the combat in the same manner as they proceed to the chace, amid the confused clang of martial instruments, shouts, yells, and shrieks, skipping about in disorder, brandishing their weapons, and skulking behind trees and bushes, to take aim at their enemies. The Jaloffs were formerly united under one powerful prince, but have, for more than a century, been divided into several independent states, which

are frequently at war among themselves and with their neighbours. In some of these states the dignity of chief is elective, in others hereditary. As the Negroes are much more certain that a child is the son of his mother, than of his reputed father, hereditary succession runs in the male line by the female side, and, instead of the eldest son of the king, the eldest son of the king's eldest sister is invested with the sovereign power. As every free man arms in his own defence, the wars of the Negroes are generally defensive or predatory; as no magazines are formed, these irregular armies are unable to keep the field for any considerable period, and therefore their wars are of short duration. Where the power of the king is not supported by an army it is extremely limited; but, in the vicinity of the Moors, where the king is allowed a guard of cavalry for his immediate protection, his authority is more despotic. Where the duration of hostilities enables the king to form an army inured to war, enriched with plunder, and attached to his service, he not only becomes despotic among his subjects, but irresistible among his neighbours. The neighbouring tribes apply to him to redress their grievances, or regulate the succession of their rulers, which he frequently terminates by assuming the government in his own person. Thus, at the close of last century, the king of Baul, being invited by the Jallofs of Kayor to relieve them from an oppression

and usurper, after summoning the chiefs to elect a sovereign, he informed them, that, upon considering the subject, " he saw none so proper as himself, and should therefore treat as rebels all who opposed his authority." This compendious method of distributive justice has generally been the favourite of monarchs. From the violence of competitors, the danger of succession, and the ambition of the inferior chiefs, these monarchies, raised by violence and injustice, are, for the most part, dismembered at the death of their founders. At the death of the chief of the Accanese, in the last century, no person dared to succeed him, and the form of government was changed from monarchy to an aristocratical republic. The excesses of competitors are generally so enormous, as to justify the Turkish adage, " Ten years of a tyrant are not so destructive as a single night of anarchy." The courage of the Jaloffs of Goree and Senegal degenerates into fool-hardiness and temerity. They are not deterred from plunging into the water, by the view of their companions devoured before their eyes by the crocodiles. Neither the other Negroes nor the Moors, can compare with them in bravery, and in one of the voyages of the French to Galam, 800 of these Negroes defeated above 12,000 Serawoollies. When taken captive, and sold for slaves, the Jaloffs exert the most violent efforts to recover their liberty. A Negress, who had been sold and carried to Goree,

swam across the arm of the sea which separates that island from the continent, with her child of three or four years of age, on her shoulders. In their wars, and other transactions, the Jaloffs place the most implicit confidence in their *grisgris* or amulets. Prelon threatened to strike one of them that believed himself to be invulnerable, who expected the blow with fearless intrepidity. When a burning glass was applied to his skin, till both the smoke and the smell were perceived by those around him, he smiled, without exhibiting any symptom of pain. The Jaloff language is reckoned copious and expressive, and superior in strength to the Foulah, which abounds in liquids.

In the vicinity of Cape Verd, an independent tribe resides, named the Sereres, who are represented as rude in their manners, honest in their transactions, and implacable in their revenge, like the Feloops, of whom they are probably a branch, like whom they have little intercourse with their neighbours. The southern bank of the Senegal is occupied by the Bracs and Wals, two tribes of Jaloff extraction, for 70 leagues as high as Podor, where the powerful Foulah kingdom of the Siratick commences, whose chief, Almammy, has distinguished himself by the wisdom of his regulations, and his opposition to the slave-trade. The capital of this kingdom is termed *Yafanne*. Between the Foulahs and Serawoollies of Galam, or Kajaaga, lie the Saltiguets, a Negro tribe of the

same extraction as the Serawoollies, sometimes independent, and sometimes subject to the Foulahs. The Serawoollies, or Saracolets, as they are denominated by the French, are an active trading people, who have spread themselves over a considerable extent of country, in the same manner as the Mandingoes. Their complexion is jet black, like that of the Jaloffs.

If they resemble the Jaloffs in complexion, in their dispositions they have a much greater similarity to the Mandingoes, and are much more devoted to commerce than to war. In mercantile transactions, their honesty is similar to that of other traders, but their assiduity in the acquisition of wealth is indefatigable. They estimate the abilities of a man by his success, and regard him as a man of no understanding, "who can perform a long journey, and bring back nothing but the hair upon his head." Kajaaga, or Galam, the principal seat of the Serawoollies, was formerly the emporium of the French commerce in gold and slaves; and they still derive considerable advantage from the traffic in slaves with the whites, and in salt and cotton-cloth with the Negroes. From these causes, the nation is more intelligent, their country better cultivated, and their houses better constructed, than those of their neighbours. Mahometanism is partially received by the people. Their language abounds in gutturals, and is deficient in harmony. The government is monarchical,

and resembles that of the Jaloffs. In the kingdom of Kajaaga, Fort St Joseph, in N. Lat.  $14^{\circ} 34'$ , and W. Long.  $9^{\circ} 46'$  of Greenwich, was built by the French at the beginning of this century. It lies about 520 miles from Arguin, and 650 from Tombuctoo. The French, who were settled at the mouth of the Senegal in 1626, gradually ascended the river to trade with the Jaloffs, Foulahs, and Moors, but did not penetrate into Kajaaga, till the year 1698, when De la Brue sailed up the Senegal to the fall of Felu, about 48 miles above Fort St Joseph, and sent one of his factors about 30 miles farther up the river, to the upper fall, named Govinea. At the arrival of De la Brue, Kajaaga was distracted by civil war. Availing himself of this circumstance, when the king demanded the duties to be paid for the liberty of trading, De la Brue replied, that he would pay no customs, but trade upon the river as he pleased; and that, if any insult was offered, he would burn the town, and send the king a slave to America. Till the evacuation of Goree and Senegal, the French continued to trade to Galam; but, on account of the impetuosity of the current of the Senegal river, the numerous bars or shallows, and the animosity of the Moors and Negroes on the banks of the river, the voyage was always reckoned extremely hazardous. The Senegal is the *Daradus* of Ptolemy, which he describes with the *Stacbir*, or Gambia, as falling into the sea on

different sides of the promontory *Arginarium*, or Cape Verd, which probably derived its name from the Arabian tribe *Assenhagi*, or *Senhagi*, whence also the *Senehaga*, or Senegal of the Portugeuze discoverer of Africa. The principal source of the Senegal in Jallonkadoo, lies about 80 miles west of the source of the Niger, and 100 to the eastward of that of the Gambia. Though its branches are numerous, it is only a large river in the rainy season.

Through the greater part of its navigable extent, the northern bank of the Senegal is occupied by the Moorish tribes of the desert, whose territory stretches along the north of the great rivers, from the mouth of the Senegal to the confines of Abyssinia. These are of a mulatto complexion, and seem to have a tincture of Negro blood in their veins. They exceed the Negroes in subtlety and treachery, excel them in genius and industry; and, instead of the plump features, and careless air of the Negro, are marked by the stern severity of their look, and the prominent traits of their countenance. The desert near the mouth of the Senegal, is possessed by the Bracnars; and, in the vicinity of Pador, by the Trasarts, Trargeas, or Terarzas, a powerful tribe who inhabit the district termed, by Leo, the desert of Twarges, Targa, or Hayr. To these tribes the principal gumforests belong. The country is, in many places, fertile, but intersected by the plains of white sand,



diversified with thickets of tamarisk and sanar, and overspread with the sea-bindweed, the purple flowers of which are interspersed among the green trailing stalks. Besides the sand-showers, the sultry east-winds are extremely noxious, that parch and shrivel the skin, till the blood issues through the pores which are impervious to the perspirable matter;—that turn the black colour of the Negroes to the redness of copper;—and seem to set the sands on fire. The sands near the coast are often covered with multitudes of yellow land-crabs, that lie almost as close as the tiles of a house. These animals abound in the marshes, and are often so large as to span the leg of a man, without squeezing it with their claws. There are various salt marshes along the banks of the Senegal, and at a considerable distance from the river. They do not seem connected with the river, as they are frequently elevated considerably above the level of its surface. The salt is formed into a crust at the bottom of the water, of a dazzling white, or of a carnation colour, extremely acrid and bitter. When a part of this crust is removed, it is soon supplied by new deposition, as a hole formed in ice is filled up by congelation. The wandering hordes of the Mongearts, and other tribes of the desert, often intermingle with the Bracnars and Trargeas, and sometimes appear in the vicinity of Kajaaga. The last Moorish state that touches the Senegal, is Geduniah, which

is opposed to Kajaaga or Galam, that occupies the navigable extremity of the river on both sides. Towards the east, the Moors of Jaffnoo are opposed to the small Negro state of Kasson, which is strong and mountainous, and, about the beginning of last century, extended its dominion over Kajaaga, Bambouk, and the territories of the Siratick. Next succeed Ludamar, a Moorish state, and Kaarta, to which it is opposed, which is occupied by the Negroes. Advancing farther towards the east, Beeroo and Tombuctoo succeed, which, on the south, border on Bambarra and Massina. From Tombuctoo, the boundary of the Moors advances along the Niger through Houssa and Berissa ; Assouda, Kanem, and Huku, to Dongola on the Nile. All these Moorish tribes, though governed by their respective chiefs, admit, in some degree, the paramount authority of the Emperor of Morocco, but rather as the chief of their religion than as their civil ruler. Thus, the Algerines allow the sovereignty of the Ottoman Emperor, though they would not admit his troops into their territories. By means of their Marabouts, they have, at different periods, acquired considerable influence among the Negroes, and excited them to revolt against their native princes. In the middle of last century, supported by the arms of Morocco, they were, for a considerable time, successful against the Jaloff chiefs, but were, in the end, expelled from their territo-

ries. As the country possessed by these tribes is barren, and affords few materials for manufactures, they are a pastoral people, and subsist chiefly on the flesh of their cattle. Corn, cotton-cloth, and metals, they procure from the Negroes, in exchange for the salt which they dig from the salt-pits of the desert. They manufacture a strong cloth of goats hair, for covering their tents, and form saddles, bridles, &c. of the hides of their cattle, but the only species of agriculture in their country is practised by the Negroes who reside in their territories. The wandering habits of the Moors, the seclusion of the desert, the intolerance of their religion, and the evident superiority over the Negroes, which they derive from the knowledge of writing, and of the Arabic language, have produced an aversion to strangers, an attachment to their own manners, and a conceit of their own superiority, which are indicated by the haughtiness of their gait, the ferocity of their look, and the staring wildness of their eyes. The dangers of the desert inure them to fatigue, and the frequent abstinence, which both necessity and religion imposes, accustoms them to suffer hunger and thirst with fortitude and patience. Many of their military maxims still breathe the courage which the conquerors of Spain and Africa displayed. "Can any thing," say they, "be more dastardly, than to kill a man before you approach near enough to be distinguished." The

Moors were formerly accustomed to advance within the length of the enemy's lance, and, then retreating, commence the combat with their darts and arrows; but, since their superiority in arms has become more dubious, they have been content to avail themselves of artifice and treachery. Their native courage, however, their skill in predatory war, and, especially, the superior fleetness of their horses, render them formidable to the peaceful agricultural tribes of the Negroes, who are neither so well prepared for repelling invasion, nor retaliating injuries, and who are often plundered and enslaved, when cajoled by their insidious professions of friendship. A small party of Negroes would never risk themselves in the desert, but one or two Moors will travel with impunity through all Africa, and plunder the Negroes by whom they have been entertained. Women are considered by these Moors as an inferior species of animals, whose only accomplishment is voluptuousness, and whose only duty is implicit submission to their brutish husbands, or rather masters. Such are the Moors of the Senegal and Niger, who, according to Mr Park, unite the blind superstition of the Negro, with the cruelty and treachery of the Arab.

The ultimate object of the French, when they formed the settlement of Fort St Joseph in Kajaaga, was not so much to secure and engross the trade of that country, as to procure a determinate

station whence they might penetrate, with the greater ease, into Tombuctoo, Gago, and Melli, and possess themselves of the traffic in gold. But, when they had gained this previous point, they found the most formidable obstacles opposed to their farther progress. The Serawoollies and Mandingoes who were in possession of that trade, from which they had excluded the Foulahs of the Siratick, eluded all their offers, and resisted all their attempts. Disconcerted by this opposition, they directed their views to Bambouk, to which they penetrated by the river Falemè, on which they founded Fort St Peter. Though the natives of Bambouk were extremely suspicious of strangers, and guarded the passages into their country with the utmost jealousy in 1716, M. Compagnon not only was able to penetrate into that region, but to conciliate the chiefs so much, that he was allowed to traverse it in every direction, and to procure specimens of the gold mines which at that time were open. The specimens of ore were sent to Paris by De la Brue, with different plans for forming settlements in the country. He engaged to conquer Bambouk with 1200 men, and calculated, that in four years the mines would reimburse the expence of the expedition; but none of his plans were adopted, and the commerce of the French was again confined to Galam.

Bambouk is a region of considerable extent, bounded on the north by Kajaaga and Kasson, on

the south by Konkadoo and Satadoo, on the west by Bondou, and on the east by Gadou, and the Foulah state Brooko. The natives, who were originally termed *Malinkups*, have for about two centuries intermingled with the Mandingoes, and lost the distinctive characteristics of a nation, by their assimilation to that people. Their government alternates between monarchy and aristocratic republicanism. Abounding in mines of gold, silver, copper, tin, and iron, the soil hardly produces millet, rice, or maize, for the subsistence of the inhabitants, and scarcely affords straw or grass for the covering of their houses. The air is unwholesome, from the mineral vapours with which it is impregnated, and the insupportable heat produced by the reflection of the lofty bare mountains which inclose the region, and impede the currents of the wind. The only cattle are sheep and goats, as there is little ground for pasturage. The working of the mines is regulated by the caprice or the necessity of the chiefs of the districts. The miners are both indolent and unskilful; and, as they neither use props nor ladders, never penetrate beyond 10 feet, though the quantity of the gold increases with the depth of the mine. As the natives imagine *gold* to be a capricious malevolent being, who delights in baffling and eluding the miners, they never attempt to recover a vein when it disappears.

While the French attempted to explore the gold countries by the Senegal and the Falemè, the English endéavoured to penetrate by the Gambia, as the Portuguese had formerly done. About the year 1520 the king of Portugal sent engineers and workmen up the Gambia to the fall of Baracônda, to blow up the ledge of rocks which impedes the navigation of the river; who, after examination, found the attempt impracticable. In 1618 Captain Thomson proceeded up the river to Tinda, about 30 leagues above Baracônda, and dispatched a messenger to Jaye, a town 9 days journey beyond it, but, being murdered in a mutiny by his own men, his observations were lost. In 1619 Captain Jobson sailed as high as the Tinda river, and heard of Jaye, Mombar, and Tomba-conda, but did not proceed to the town of Tinda. In 1723, Captain Stibbs ascended about 20 leagues above Baracônda, but, from the shallowness of the river at that season, was not able to reach Tinda. About the beginning of this century, the mulatto agents of the English frequented the banks of the Falemè, and De la Brue relates, that Captain Agis, an Englishman, had visited that river, who, at his return to Vintaim, on the Gambia, where he resided, finding his wife, a mulatto woman, delivered of a black child, caused it to be pounded in a mortar, and thrown to the dogs.

In 1791, this country was traversed by the brave but unfortunate Major Houghton, who, first after the death of Ledyard, and the return of Lucas, attempted to explore Africa, according to the plan of the African Association. Having formed an acquaintance with the manners of the Moors, during his residence as British Consul at Marocco, and with those of the Negroes, while he remained at Goree in the capacity of Fort-Major, he sailed up the Gambia to Pisania, the residence of the hospitable Dr Laidley. Pisania is a small village in the kingdom of Yani, established by the English on the banks of the Gambia as a trading factory. It lies in N. Lat.  $13^{\circ} 35'$ . and W. Long.  $13^{\circ} 28'$ . From Pisania, Major Houghton proceeded to the Mandingo kingdom of Woolli, bounded by Walli on the west, Bondou on the north-east, and on the east by the Simbani wilderness. It is agreeably diversified by plains and rising grounds, extremely fertile, and well cultivated, in the vicinity of the towns. The highest parts of the mountainous ridges exhibit the red iron stone, amidst the stunted shrubs which hardly detract from the bleakness of the prospect; cotton, tobacco, and esculent plants, are raised in the valleys; and the intermediate sloping grounds are covered with corn. The Pagans are more numerous than the Mahometans, and retain the ascendancy in the government. At Medina, the capital, the Major was received with

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great hospitality and kindness by the king of Woolli, from whom he received various directions concerning the routes by which it was possible to penetrate into the interior regions. The accounts of these regions which he was able to collect from the slatees, or slave-traders, and travelling Shereefs and Marabouts, he communicated to Dr Laidley, by whom they were forwarded to the African Association. From these he appears to have entertained the most sanguine expectations of success. In his letter from Medina of the 6th of May 1791, he says, "I have obtained the best intelligence of the places I design visiting, from a Shereef here, who lives at Tombuctoo, and who luckily knew me when I was British Consul to the Emperor of Marocco, in 1772. I find, that in the river I am going to explore, they have decked vessels with masts, with which they carry on trade from Tombuctoo eastward to the centre of Africa. I mean to embark in one of them, from Gennè in Bambara, to Tombuctoo." The information concerning the magnitude of the vessels by which the Niger is navigated in the vicinity of Tombuctoo and Houssa, depends upon different authorities, and is as old as the beginning of the present century. De la Brue was informed by the Mandingo merchants at Galam, that some leagues from Tombuctoo, the Niger was navigated by "masted barks;" and that this city was yearly visited

by a large caravan of whites, armed with firelocks. From various testimonies, Dr Laidley of Pisanía was induced to believe that ships of 100 tons burden frequented Houssa; and Mr Park, before his departure from the Gambia, was informed by a priest who had visited Tombuctoo, that the canoes upon the Niger were large, and not made of one tree, but of various planks united, and navigated by white people. Nothing will appear wonderful in this relation, when we consider, that, not only Tombuctoo, but Gago, far to the eastward of that city, have at different times been subjugated by the arms of Marocco, and that these regions, as well as Zanzibár and Melli, are frequently traversed by the caravans of Marocco, Tunis, and Tripoli. From Medina, Major Houghton advanced to Bambouk, and, after crossing the Falemè, at Cacullo, in lat.  $13^{\circ} 54'$ , arrived at Ferbanna. Here he was entertained with extraordinary hospitality by the king of Bambouk, who not only gave him directions for pursuing his route to Tombuctoo, but furnished him with a guide, and with money to defray the expences of the journey. After his departure from Bambouk, the route which he pursued is not accurately known. It appears, however, that having, in opposition to the opinion of his friends in England, and even to that which he himself had stated, encumbered himself with an assortment of bale goods, consisting of linen, scarlet-

cloth, cutlery ware, beads, and ambers; the powerful attractions which these presented to the rapacity of the natives, involved him in perpetual contests. After surmounting many difficulties, he took a northern direction, and endeavoured to penetrate through Ludamar. From Simbing, the frontier village of this state, which is situated in a narrow pass between two rocky hills, and encompassed with a high wall, he wrote with a pencil his last letter to Dr Laidley, when he was deserted by his negro servants, who refused to follow him into the Moorish territory. This letter was dated Sept. 1. 1791, and expressed in the following terms: "Major Houghton's compliments to Dr Laidley, is in good health, on his way to Tombuctoo, robbed of all his goods by Fenda Bucar's son." At Jarra, for a musket and some tobacco, he engaged certain Moorish merchants who were going to purchase salt in the desert, to convey him to Tisheet, which lies near the salt-pits, 10 days journey to the North of Jarra. Whether he had been deceived concerning his route, or insiduously decoyed into the desert, it is impossible to determine; but, at the end of two days, suspecting the perfidy of his companions, he resolved to return to Jarra, and, upon refusing to advance, was deserted and plundered by the Moors. Major Houghton returned on foot through the desert, solitary, and perishing with hunger. He had wanted food for some days when he reach-

ed Jarra, a watering-place belonging to the Moors, where he was either murdered or suffered to perish, as the Moors refused to supply him with meat. His body was dragged into the wilderness, and left to waste under a tree, in a spot which was pointed out to Mr Park, at Jarra. The traders on the Gambia reported that he had been murdered by the instigation of the king of Bambara; but this was afterwards contradicted, and he was asserted to have died of a dysentery. Dr Laidley attempted to recover his books or papers, by offering rewards to the native traders, but without success. Thus was the Association a second time deprived of the exertions of a man, whose courage and abilities afforded the fairest presages of success, while the shocking circumstances of his death could not fail to mingle the emotions of regret with the feelings of disappointment\*.

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\* Matthew's Voyage to the Coast of Africa; Wadstrom's Essay on the Colonization of the West Coast of Africa; Leo Africanus; De la Bruë in Labat; Battel in Purchas's Pilgr.; Campagnon in Labat; Barbot's Guinea; African Association; Park's Travels in Africa; Rennell's Geographical Illustrations; Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia.

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## C H A P. XII.

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TRAVELS OF MR PARK—FROM PISANIA IN YANI, TO MEDINA IN WOOLLI—IN BONDOL—IN KAJAAGA—IN KASSON—IN KAARTA—ACCOUNT OF THE LOTUS—WAR BETWEEN KAARTA AND BAMBARA—TRAVELS AND DETENTION IN LUDAMAR—ESCAPE THROUGH THE WILDERNESS TO BAMBARA—TRAVELS IN BAMBARA TO SILLA, AND RETURN ALONG THE NIGER—TRAVELS IN MANDING, AND HOSPITABLE RECEPTION AT KAMALLAH—TRAVELS IN JALLONKADOO—KONKADOO, SATADOO, AND DENTILA—ACCOUNT OF FOOTATORRA—RETURN TO PISANIA

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**T**HOUGH the concomitant circumstances of the fate of Major Houghton remained in obscurity, the intelligence of his death was soon fully confirmed, and the Association immediately engaged another gentleman, to prosecute the same arduous enterprise. Mr Mango Park, a native of Scotland, born near Selkirk, who had received a medical education at Edinburgh, and was lately returned from a voyage to the East Indies, inflamed with an ardent desire of exploring these unknown regions, examining their productions, and investigating the manners of their inhabitants, was proposed, at his own desire, to the Associa-

tion, by the President of the Royal Society, and, after satisfying the Committee with respect to his skill in astronomy, geography, and natural-history, sailed from Portsmouth on May 22d 1795, and, on the 21st of June, arrived at Jillifree, on the northern bank of the Gambia. Jillifree, in N. Lat.  $13^{\circ} 16'$ , and W. Long.  $16^{\circ} 7'$ , is situated in the fertile kingdom of Barra, the inhabitants of which trade up the Gambia in their canoes, as high as Baraconda, with salt, which they exchange for maize, cotton-cloth, ivory, and gold-dust. The number of persons employed in this trade, renders the king of Barra the most powerful chief on the Gambia, and enables him to impose exorbitant duties on European traders, who visit the rivers. After touching at Vintain, they sailed up the Gambia to Jonkakonda, a trading town within 16 miles of Pisania, where Mr Park was expected by Dr Laidley, who invited him to reside at his own house, till an opportunity occurred of prosecuting his journey to the interior. During his residence at Pisania, the exertions of Mr Park were directed to the acquisition of the Mandingo language, the examination of the natural productions of the country, and the procuring information concerning the interior regions from the free black traders, who all appeared averse to his proposed journey; but these occupations were, for some time, interrupted by the country fever, or seasoning, which he caught by exposing himself

to the night dew. Yanl, and the adjacent Mandingo districts, present an immense level surface, where the absence of picturesque beauty is compensated by the fertility of the soil. Besides rice, millet, maize, and esculent vegetables; the natives cultivate indigo and cotton in the vicinity of their towns and villages. Their domestic animals are almost the same as in Europe; the ass is employed in carrying burdens; but the plough is unknown, and the substitution of animal for human labour, unpractised in agriculture. The most common wild animals are the elephant, panther, hyæna, and jackal. The Negroes of the Gambia have no idea of taming the elephant, and, when the practice is mentioned, term it *a white man's lie*. The shrill bark of the jakal, and the deep howl of the hyæna, mingling with the incessant croaking of frogs, and the tremendous peals of midnight thunder,—form a symphony of no very pleasant kind. The Gambia, which is deep and muddy, and the banks of which are covered with impenetrable thickets of mangroves, contains sharks, crocodiles, and river-horses, (an animal which may be more properly denominated the river-elephant) in immense numbers, with various kinds of excellent fish. The Negroes live chiefly on vegetable food; they reduce their corn to meal in a mortar, and most commonly use it in the form of *kouskous*, a kind of pudding dressed in the steam of broth made with animal food.

The *shea-toulou*, or tree butter, which in food, is substituted for butter, and in domestic purposes for oil, is obtained in great quantities, from the interior districts. The trade of the Negroes is conducted by barter; and, in order to adjust the value of their different articles of commerce, they appeal to a nominal standard, which from Senegal to Cape Mount is termed *a bar*; from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, *a piece*; from Cape Palmas to Whidah, *an ackey*; from Whidah to Benin, *a pawn*; and from Benin to Gabon, *a copper*. These denominations originated from the particular species of merchandize for which the Negroes showed the greatest avidity, when Europeans began to trade on these coasts. On the Gambia, that quantity of any particular species of goods, which is valued at a *bar* of iron, is denominated a *bar* of that commodity.

At the commencement of the dry season, without waiting for the cofle, or caravan of slatees, or slave-traders, of whose jealousy he was apprehensive, Mr. Park departed from Pisanía on Dec. 2. 1795, and advanced into the kingdom of Walli, attended by two negro servants, and accompanied by two slatees of the Serawoolli nation, and two free Mahometan negroes, of whom one was going to Bambara, and the other, a blacksmith, who had been employed by Dr Laidley, was returning to Kasson, his native country. One of his servants, named Johnson, who had been in England, and spoke



the English and Mandingo languages, was hired at the rate of 15 bars a-month, 5 of which were to be paid to his wife, during his absence, and the remainder to himself. The other was a boy named *Demba*, the slave of Dr Laidley, who, on the condition of fidelity, had promised to emancipate him at his return. His baggage consisted chiefly of a pocket sextant, a magnetic compass, a thermometer, an umbrella, two fowling-pieces, two pair of pistols, and a few changes of linen and cloaths. In the day they continued their journey, and in the evening were entertained by the ludicrous tales resembling those of the Arabians, which the Mandingoes related. On Dec. 5. they arrived at Medina, the capital of Woolli, containing about 1000 houses, surrounded with a high wall of clay, and an exterior fence of pointed stakes and prickly bushes. Here Mr Park was introduced to the venerable chief who had received Major Houghton with so great hospitality. He found him seated upon a mat at the door of his hut; and, upon desiring leave to pass through his territories, was answered, that he should be furnished with a guide next day, and assured that the king himself would pray for his safety, who entreated him to desist from a journey of such imminent danger, which had already proved fatal to Major Houghton. In return for this condescension, one of Mr Park's attendants began immediately to sing an Arabic song, in which the

king and his people joined as chorus. After receiving the guide, he departed from Medina, and, on the 8th, arrived at Kolor, in N. Lat.  $13^{\circ} 49'$ . near the entrance of which he saw the dress of Mumbo-Jumbo hanging upon a tree. Passing through Tambacunda and Kooniakary, he reached Koojar, the frontier town of Woolli, on the 11th, and hired three elephant hunters to accompany him as guides through the wilderness, which separates that kingdom from Bondou. In the evening, he was invited to be a spectator of a wrestling match, at the *bentang*. The contest was regulated by the music of a drum; the combatants were only clothed in a short pair of drawers, and anointed with oil or shea-butter; they approached bending low, parrying with their hands, and attempting to catch at the knees. This method of wrestling is similar to that which is practised in many places of Scotland and Wales, and seems to have been used in Syria at a very ancient period, as appears from a circumstance narrated in the history of Jacob \*. Next morning, one of his guides who had received part of his wages in advance, had absconded, and, in order to prevent the other two from following his example, Mr Park immediately departed, and entered the wilderness. His attendants, having prepared a *sapphie*, or charm, to avert misfortune, advanced with courage, and

\* Genesis xxxii. 24.

soon arrived at a large tree, decorated with innumerable scraps of cloth, as custom had directed every traveller, who desired a fortunate journey; to hang up something on its branches. This practice, originally intended to mark a watering place, had degenerated into a blind superstition; and to encourage his attendants, Mr Park followed the example of the Negroes. On the 13th he arrived at Tallika, the frontier town of Bondou, and traversed a fertile champaign country, till he reached Koorkarany, in N. Lat.  $13^{\circ} 53'$ , being only interrupted by a quarrel between two of his attendants, which he terminated by threatening to shoot the person who had drawn his cutlass, if he attempted again to molest any of the company. At Koorkarany, the Marabout showed him various Arabic MSS. and, among the rest, the Al Sharra. From Koorkarany they proceeded through an open cultivated country, till they reached the banks of the Falemè, covered with large fields of corn; the *mimosa* grew on the stony heights, and whinstone and quartz were often observed. Some wells which they passed were dug with great ingenuity, to the depth of 28 fathoms. The villagers on the Falemè were skilful fishers. They prepare their fish, by pounding them in a mortar, while fresh from the water, and drying them in large loaves in the sun, which in eating they dissolve in boiling water, and mix with their kouskous. The black loaves, prepared in

this manner, form an article of commerce in the Moorish districts, where fish is hardly known. The women were often rude and troublesome by their solicitations for amber and beads. On the 21st they arrived at Fatteconda, the capital of Bondou, and, according to custom, presenting themselves at the *Bentang*, were invited to lodge at the house of a slatee. Mr Park was immediately conducted to a private conference with Almami the king, who had caused Major Houghton to be plundered. He was surprized that Mr Park neither wished to purchase slaves nor gold, and desired him to return and receive provisions in the evening. Dreading this interview, Mr Park carried with him his umbrella, and some other articles, as a present to his majesty, and put on his new blue coat, as the safest method to preserve it. Being conducted to the palace, a kind of citadel, subdivided into courts, the various passages of which were guarded by centinels with muskets, he was introduced in form to the king, who understood the value of the presents much better than the narration of the traveller; as the design of travelling for curiosity, merely to view the country and its inhabitants, was still more incomprehensible than the mechanism of the umbrella presented. But as he was going to depart, his majesty desired him to stop a little, and immediately favoured him with a specimen of African eloquence, equally unsatisfactory to the traveller.

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It commenced with a panegyric on the whites, their immense wealth, and extensive benevolence: the body of the oration consisted of an ingenious eulogium on Mr Park's blue coat, not omitting the yellow buttons with which it was decorated, while the conclusion contained an eloquent address to the owner, to persuade him to present it to his majesty, urging, that he would wear it on all public occasions, and inform every one that saw it, of the donor's generosity. These arguments, with a still more powerful motive which his majesty did not urge, the danger of irritating him by a refusal, induced Mr Park to comply with this request, who quietly stripped off his coat, and laid it at the feet of the king. In consideration of this and the other presents, he was presented with 5 drachms of gold, and his baggage exempted from examination. Next day the king desired him to visit his women, and, upon his assenting, he was conducted into the seraglio, where he was rallied by the African beauties, upon the whiteness of his skin and the prominence of his nose, which, they alledged, were both artificial. The first, these philosophical ladies attributed to his having been bathed in milk when young, while they fancied that the elevation of his nose had been produced by pinching it from time to time, till it acquired its unnatural form. This theory might really do credit to a modern philosopher of France or Germany. In return for

these complimentary remarks on his features and complexion, Mr Park, with great gallantry, praised "the glossy jet of their skins, and the lovely depression of their noses;" but they told him that *boney-mouth* was not esteemed in Bondou. He remarks, however, that they were probably not so insensible to flattery as they affected, for, after his departure, they presented him with fish and a jar of honey. Bondou, like Woolli, is covered with wood, but the land is more elevated and fertile. From its central situation, between the Senegal and Gambia, it is much frequented by the Mandingo and Serawoolli traders. As the duties are heavy, the revenues of the king are considerable, and, consequently, his authority firmly established, and his power formidable to his neighbours. On the 23d, they departed from Fatteconda, and, while the moon shone bright, and the deep silence of the woods was only interrupted by the howling of the wolves and hyænas, that glided like shadows through the thickets, without articulating a word louder than a whisper, they traversed the wilderness which divides Bondou from Kajaaga, and arrived at Joag, the frontier town of that kingdom, on the 24th. Joag is situated 247 miles east of Pisania, in N. Lat.  $14^{\circ} 25'$ , and W. Long.  $9^{\circ} 12'$ . It contains about 2000 inhabitants, and is surrounded by a high wall, with port holes for muskets. The habitation of every individual is also surrounded with a distinct wall in the manner of

the *insula* of the ancients. They took up their residence in the house of the judge, or *Dooty*, who is termed the Alkaid on the coast, and were invited to attend the public dances in the evening. But, during the night, there arrived a party of horse, from the king of Kajaaga, who, being joined by others in the morning, surrounded Mr Park with their muskets in their hands, and informed him, that, having entered the country without paying the duties, his people, cattle, and baggage, were forfeited, and that they were ordered to conduct him immediately to Maana, the residence of the king. As resistance was impossible, he affected to comply with this peremptory order ; but, after consulting his landlord, who represented in strong terms the avarice of the Serawolli prince, he resolved, if possible, to conciliate the messengers, which he effected with the loss of half his property. During the remainder of the day, he and his attendants were obliged to fast, as he was plundered of his money, and durst not produce his remaining effects, lest he should attract the avarice of the king. In this situation, while he was sitting on the bentang, chewing straws, he was accosted by an aged female slave, who enquired if *he had got his dinner*. As he imagined she only mocked him, he did not reply, but his boy answered, that the king's people had robbed him of his money ; when the benevolent slave took a basket from her head, presented him with a few

handfuls of earth-nuts, and departed before he had time to thank her. Immediately afterwards, he was visited by Demba Sego, nephew of the king of Kasson, who was returning from the king of Ka-jaaga, with whom he had in vain attempted to adjust the disputes that had occurred between that kingdom and Kasson. Upon learning the situation of Mr Park, Demba Sego offered to conduct him to the Mandingo kingdom of Kasson. Accepting this offer, he departed with his attendants from Joag, on the 27th of December; and, passing by the towns of Gungadi and Samee, they reached Kagee, a large village, where they crossed the Senegal, and entered the kingdom of Kasson. The journey was marked by nothing remarkable, except the sacrifice of a white chicken, which was offered by Johnson, the interpreter, to the spirits of the woods, described as a powerful race of white beings, with long flowing hair. No sooner had they entered Kasson, than Demba Sego suggested the propriety of rewarding his services by a handsome present. At this unexpected proposition, Mr Park began to suspect that he had not altered his situation by crossing the Senegal; but, as complaints would not have availed, he affected to comply with great alacrity; and, advancing on the journey, on December 29th, arrived at Teesee. Teesee is a large unwallled town, fortified with a kind of citadel, inhabited by Mandingoes. The inhabitants have one singular custom, *that no wo-*



*man is allowed to eat an egg.* As his friend, Demba, in order to give himself an air of importance, had borrowed his horse, bridle, and saddle, while he went to negotiate with the Moors of Gedumah, Mr Park was forced to remain till his return. During which time, an embassy from Almami Abdulkader, king of Foota Torra, arrived at Teesee, and announced to the commandant Tiggity Sego, the father of Demba, that except the people of Kasson should embrace the Mahometan religion, and demonstrate their conversion by saying eleven public prayers, in the approaching war, the king of Foota Torra would unite his arms with those of Kajaaga. Upon mature deliberation, the inhabitants of Teesee, considering that much less injury could result from the repetition of public prayers than from the armies of Foota Torra, resolved to comply with the condition, which was accordingly received as a sufficient proof of their conversion. At the return of Demba, Mr Park resolved to proceed immediately to Kooniakary, the capital; but, before he was allowed to depart from Teesee, he was plundered of half his remaining goods, by his obliging friend, under the double pretext of duties and presents. Leaving Teesee, on the morning of January 10th, after crossing Krieko, a branch of the Senegal, near a large town named Madina, they arrived, on the second day, at Jumbo, the native town of the blacksmith, whose brother came out to meet him, accompanied

by a singing man, and bringing him a horse, that he might enter his native town like a person of consequence. As soon as they approached the town, they were joined by a number of the inhabitants, shouting, jumping, and singing, and the minstrel began a song in praise of the blacksmith, extolling his courage, and exhorting his friends to dress him abundance of victuals. His relations testified the most extravagant joy at his return, and his aged blind mother was led out, leaning on a staff, to congratulate her son, who stroked his hands, arms, and face, and seemed greatly delighted. During this tumult of joy, when the attention of every one was so much absorbed, that none of them observed the white stranger, Mr Park seated himself beside one of the huts; but when the Negro proceeded to detail his history, from the period of his leaving Kasson, and, after repeatedly mentioning the kindness of the white traveller, pointed to the place, and exclaimed, "*See him sitting there,*"—their joy was converted into amazement, the eyes of all were turned upon the stranger, and none could comprehend how he had arrived without being perceived. The women and children, however, could not conceal their apprehensions at his appearance, and could not be reconciled to it for some time, though the blacksmith declared him to be quite inoffensive. The gratitude of this Negro was so great, that he refused to leave Mr Park while he remained at Koo-

niakary. On his way to Kooniakary, he visited Soolo, where Salim Daucari, a respectable slatee, on whom he had a letter of credit from Dr Laidley, was accustomed to reside. Here he was received with the utmost attention; but, in a few hours, a message arrived from the king of Kasson, to demand the reason of this delay. Mr Park proceeded immediately to Kooniakary, and, next day, in the presence of an immense concourse of people, had an audience of his majesty, by whom he was very favourably received, and who appeared to be satisfied with the account of his journey. The king of Kasson informed him of the approaching war, in which all the neighbouring countries would be necessarily involved; but agreed to allow him a guide into Kaarta. Mr Park desired a guide to conduct him into Fooladoo; but the king replied, that he was bound, by an agreement with the king of Kaarta, to send all merchants and travellers into his territories, and therefore could not, in consistence with justice, allow him a guide by any other route. During his residence at Soolo for a few days till the messengers returned who had been sent to ascertain the state of the adjacent country, Mr Park was subjected to new impositions, from a rumour arising that he had received a great quantity of gold from Salim Daucari. The kingdom of Kasson is a beautiful level country, the state of population and cultivation in which exceeded that of any re-

gion which our traveller had as yet visited. Kooniakary, the capital, lies in N. Lat.  $14^{\circ} 34'$ . about  $59\frac{1}{2}$  geog. miles to the east of Joag. From Soolo Mr Park proceeded along the populous banks of the Krieko, by Kimo, Feesurah, and Karancalla, to Kemmoo, the capital of Kaarta, where he arrived on Feb. 12. On the journey, having separated a little way from his companions, he fell in with two Negro horsemen, who were struck with consternation at the singularity of his appearance, and galloped off muttering prayers with looks of horror. Meeting his attendants, they related that they had seen a tremendous spirit, arrayed in flowing robes, while a chill blast came rushing upon them like cold water from the sky. At Kemmoo he met with the most hospitable reception from Daisy Koorabarri, king of Kaarta, whose character was not tarnished by any of those acts of rapacity which had marked the conduct of the other African princes. As all intercourse between Kaarta and Bambara had been interrupted, and a residence in Kaarta was equally dangerous to Mr Park, and disagreeable to king Daisy, who dreaded the imputation of murdering a white man, he chose the only remaining route to Bambara, through the kingdom of Ludamar, equally hazardous and circuitous, where Major Houghton had already perished. On Feb. 13. he departed from Kemmoo, and proceeded with an escort to Funingkedy, where he had an opportunity of ob-

serving the hardiness of the Moors, five of whom, armed with muskets, drove off a number of cattle belonging to the inhabitants, and passed within pistol-shot of 500 of the townsmen, collected under the walls, who scarcely made a show of resistance. One of the herdsmen, whose leg was fractured by a shot, died in the hands of the Bushreens, who attempted to smuggle him into Paradise, by teaching him, before his exit, to pronounce the Mahometan confession of faith, *There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet*. His disconsolate mother only exclaimed "*he never told a lie*;" but the spectators chimed in with great effect to form a dismal chorus of screams and groans. Mr Park was regarded as a cannibal, for proposing the operation of amputation.

On the road between Kemmoo and Funingkedy, Mr Park first observed the Negroes gathering *tomberongs*, or the berries of the *Rhamnus Lotus*. The lotus is common in all the Negro kingdoms, and is found on the Gambia, but it is in the sandy soil of Karta, Ludamar, and the northern districts of Bambara that it is most abundant. There the natives collect the small farinaceous berries, which are of a yellow colour and delicious taste, and, by drying them in the sun, pounding them in a mortar, and forming them into a paste with water, compose a sort of bread, which resembles the sweetest gingerbread in colour and flavour. The water, sweetened with the juice of the lotus berry,

forms a pleasant gruel, which is the common breakfast in many parts of Ludamar. The lotus shrub is found at Tunis, and seems evidently to be the plant which nourished the Lybian Loto-phagi of Homer and Pliny, and with which, according to Pliny, armies were sometimes supported.

From Funingkedy, Mr Park proceeded by Simbing to Jarra, a large town situated at the foot of some rocky hills, in N. Lat.  $15^{\circ} 5'$ . and was attended on his route by numerous fugitive Kaartans, who fled from the arms of Bambara. Notwithstanding the uniformity of the Negro wars, that of Kaarta derives considerable interest from the amicable character of the chief of that country. It originated in a contest concerning the restitution of some cattle that had been stolen by the Moors from Bambara, and sold to the chief of a Kaartan village. Mansong, king of Bambara, who had been long jealous of the prosperity of Kaarta, availing himself of this pretext, sent a message to king Daisy, desiring him to direct his slaves to sweep the houses, and have every thing prepared, as the king of Bambara, with 9000 men, would visit Kemmoo in the dry season. This insulting message was accompanied with a present in the hieroglyphical stile. It consisted of a pair of iron sandals, and the explanation was supplied by the bearer, "that until the king of Kaarta had wore out these in his flight, he should not be

“ secure from the arrows of Bambara.” Rude nations generally supply the deficiency of their language by the energy of their gestures, and the slowness of their capacity by the vivacity of their images and significant actions. The hieroglyphical message of the Scythian ambassador, who, without speaking a word, presented to Darius, a bird, a frog, a mouse, and five arrows, is well known. Herodotus mentions, that the same Darius sent notice to the Ionian Greeks, that if they continued their depredations in Asia, *he would treat them as pines*, or exterminate them, for no shoots rise from the pine when it is cut down. The chief of the Narraghanset Indians, to express his mortal enmity to the first settlers of New England, sent them a rattlesnake’s skin stuffed full of arrows, to which the English replied very intelligibly, by returning the same skin stuffed with powder and bullets. Upon receiving a similar message from the king of Bambara, the Kaartan prince, after consulting with his chief men, returned a similar defiance, and, immediately issuing proclamations, called upon his friends to join him, permitting all who were unarmed, or afraid of the war, to retire into any of the adjoining states, whence they should always be welcome to return, if they observed a rigid neutrality; but, if they engaged in hostilities against their native country, he declared, that “ they had broken the keys of their huts, and could never

“ again enter the door.” Though the proclamation was generally applauded, various powerful tribes, particularly those of Jower and Kakaroo, retired from Kaarta into Kassan and Ludamar, by which means Daisy’s army was reduced to 4000 effective men. At the approach of Mansong to Kemmoo, Daisy retreated to Joko, and afterwards to Gedingooma, a strong town, surrounded with high walls of stone, situated in a narrow pass between two hills, with only two gates, the one facing Kaarta, and the other Jaffnoo. At Joko, however, his sons refused to accompany his flight, “ lest the singing men should say, that Daisy and “ his family had fled from Joko without firing a “ gun.” They were therefore left with a party of horse to defend Joko; but, after various skirmishes, were defeated, and one of them taken prisoner, upon which the others retired to Gedingooma. When Mansong saw that Daisy would not hazard a battle, he ravaged Kaarta with fire and sword; but, being unable to make any impression on Gedingooma, after remaining about two months in its vicinity, he marched to attack Ali, the Moorish king of Ludamar, who refused to furnish him with the auxiliaries he had promised; and, upon the retreat of the Moors, retired to Sego. The king of Kasson dying at this period, the succession was disputed by his two sons; the unsuccessful candidate retired to Gedingooma; and as Daisy, who had lived in friend-



ship with both the brothers, refused to deliver him up, though he did not interfere in the contest, the king of Kasson joined some disaffected Kaartans in a predatory excursion into Kaarta. Daisy retaliated this attack, by surprising three large villages of Kasson, and putting every effective man to the sword, and, among the rest, many of his own traitorous subjects. Upon this, the Kaartan tribes, by whom he had been deserted, commenced hostilities against their former prince, but were obliged to retreat at the approach of Daisy, when the war was terminated by the rainy season.

Jarra, often pronounced Yarra and Yarba, where Mr Park had now arrived, is a large town, the houses of which are built of stone, intermixed with clay instead of mortar, the majority of the inhabitants of which are Negroes. Here he resided 14 days in the house of a Gambia slattee, (upon whom he had an order from Dr Laidley for a debt) till a messenger returned from Ali the Moorish prince, to whom he had been sent to solicit permission to travel through his country. On the 26th of February, one of Ali's slaves arrived to conduct him to Goomba; and as all his attendants, except his faithful boy Demba, refused to advance into the Moorish country, he delivered a duplicate of his papers to Johnson, to convey them to the Gambia. Here he left his supernumerary clothes with Daman Jumma, the slattee, and here he was plundered of his sextant,

which accident terminated his observations of latitude, and caused the parallels of his remaining geographical stations to be left undetermined. From Jarra he departed, on the 27th of February, and advanced through a sandy country, by Troom-goomba and Quiza, to Deena, a large town built of stone and clay, where the Moors were more numerous in proportion to the Negroes than at Jarra. These ferocious fanatics insulted Mr Park in the grossest manner ; but, finding it impossible to irritate him so far as to afford them a pretext for seizing his baggage, they determined to plunder him, *because he was a Christian*, and the pretended protection of Ali did not secure him from their rapacity. From Deena, he proceeded over a sandy country, covered with *asclepias gigantea*, to Sampaka, a large town which formerly belonged to Bambara, and had often resisted the attacks of the Moors, but, at the termination of the last war between the Moors and Bambarans, had been resigned to the king of Ludamar, with all the country as far as Goomba. There he lodged in the house of a Negro, who manufactured gun-powder from nitre, collected from the reservoirs of water frequented by the cattle, and sulphur supplied by the Moors, who obtain it from the Mediterranean. The ingredients are pounded in a wooden mortar, the grains are unequal, and the strength of the gunpowder very inferior to that of Europe. From Sampaka he proceeded to Dalli,

within two days journey of Goomba, where he arrived on the 5th of March; and, remaining in a village in its vicinity, till he should be joined by some of the inhabitants who intended to accompany him to Goomba, he was seized, on the 7th, by a party of Moors, who were ordered by Ali to convey him to Benowm, as his favourite wife Fatima was desirous of seeing the Christian. By the Moors he was conducted back to Deena, where he saw one of Ali's sons, who immediately handed him a double barreled gun, and commanded him to repair one of the locks, and dye the stock of a blue colour. Mr Park found it extremely difficult to persuade him that a white might be ignorant of this art. On March 12th, they arrived at Benowm, which exhibited a great number of tents scattered irregularly over a large extent of ground, and divided by herds of camels, cattle, and goats. Here he remained till the 30th of April, and was treated with the utmost insolence and brutality by the Moors, who shut him up in a hut in which a wild hog was tied, which the boys constantly irritated by beating, while the men and women regularly assembled to tease the Christian. Their curiosity was almost as disagreeable as their insolence, as they examined his clothes, searched his pockets, wondered at the whiteness of his skin, counted his toes and fingers, and forced him to continue dressing and undressing himself, buttoning and unbuttoning his clothes, from noon to

night, while he was perishing with hunger and thirst. The curiosity of the females of Luda-mar, formed no exception to the common opinions entertained on that subject. As the cultivation of their minds could not fail to inspire them with deep disgust at that species of prostitution which is sanctioned by the Moorish customs ; they are entirely unacquainted with refinement and delicacy ; and when their natural timidity is emboldened by numbers, they are unrestrained by modesty or decorum. A party of the Moorish females, who visited Mr Park, were very curious to know whether the rite of circumcision extended to the Christians. Mr Park, who was exceedingly surprised at their effrontery, treated the matter in a jocular manner, and assured one of the most handsome, that he would satisfy her curiosity, if the others would retire ; when they all departed, much delighted with the jest. While he remained at Benowm, he had an opportunity of seeing a Moorish wedding ; it was not celebrated with the same festivity of song and dance as the Negro weddings ; one woman beat a drum, and the others made a kind of whistling noise, or frog-music, with their mouths. When he had retired to his hut, and was sitting almost asleep, an old woman entered, and told him she had brought him a present from the bride, and immediately discharged in his face the contents of a wooden bowl which she carried in her hand. As Mr Park, who

perceived that it was the same species of holy water with which the priest sprinkles a new married couple, among the Hottentots, did not exhibit much gratitude for the favour ; the old lady informed him seriously, that this nuptial benediction of the bride was received by the unmarried Moors as the highest mark of esteem.

Before Johnson had time to depart from Jarra, he was also seized by the Moors, and conveyed to Benowm, with all the effects of Mr Park that had been left in the house of Daman Jumma, except the papers, which had been committed by Johnson to the care of one of the wives of Daman. These, with Mr Park's watch, his gold, amber, and pocket-compass, were deposited in the tent of Ali, whose superstitious fears were soon excited by the compass, and enquired why that small piece of iron, (the needle) always pointed to the great desert. As a scientific explanation would have been unintelligible, and affected ignorance would have excited suspicion, Mr Park told him that it pointed to his mother, who resided beyond the great desert, and would conduct him to her if she was alive, and, when she was dead, direct him to her grave. Upon this explanation, Ali, who began to regard it with still greater amazement, turned it repeatedly round, and, as it still pointed to the desert, returned it with great caution, as too dangerous an instrument to keep in his possession. As the Moors, though extremely indolent, are very

rigid masters, Mr Park's two Negro servants were employed in collecting withered grass for the king's horses, and, after many consultations, he was himself installed in the office of barber to his barbarian majesty, but acquitted himself so badly at his first exhibition, in shaving the head of the young prince, that he was immediately deposed. Various consultations were held, concerning his future destination: some advised that he should be put to death, others that he should lose his right hand, while the king's brother proposed to put out his eyes, which, he said, resembled those of a cat, to which measure all the Bushreens agreed; but Ali deferred the execution of the sentence, till Fatima the queen came from the north. In the mean time, he was ordered not to go without the camp; and, on walking to some shady trees, at a little distance, to escape the insults with which he was continually harassed, he was pursued by a party of horsemen, one of whom snapped a pistol twice at him, with the utmost indifference. Mr Park's nankeen breeches appeared to the Moors not only inelegant but indecent; and Ali caused him to wrap himself up in his cloak, when he carried him to visit his women. These ladies were very inquisitive, and examined his hair and skin, but knit their brows, and shuddered at the whiteness of his colour. On such occasions, the Moors conducted him in a kind of procession, galloping round him as if they had been baiting a

wild beast, twirling their muskets round their heads, and exhibiting feats of activity and horsemanship. To relieve the irksomeness of time, he began to learn the Arabic characters, and, by desiring the most insolent of the Moors, either to write on the sand, or decypher the characters which he had formed, he discovered a method of diverting their malicious propensities, by addressing their vanity, and pride of superior accomplishments.

During the time that he remained at Benowm, he held various conversations with two Mahometan travellers, who traded in salt; one of them resided in Walet, and had visited Tombuctoo and Houssa. He described Walet, the capital of Beeroo, as larger than Tombuctoo, though not so much frequented by strangers, on account of its distance from the Niger, and its trade being chiefly confined to salt. He related, that Walet was distant 10 days journey from Benowm, the route passing through a barren country, where there were no remarkable towns. From Walet to Tombuctoo, he reported to be 11 days journey, which was usually performed on bullocks. Houssa was the largest town he had ever seen. When Mr Park enquired so particularly concerning the distance between Walet and Tombuctoo, he asked if he intended to travel in that direction: being answered in the affirmative, he said, *it would not do*, and added, that Christians were regarded there as chil-

dren of the Devil, and enemies of the prophet. He said that many Jews resided at Tombuctoo, who spoke Arabic, and used the Moorish prayers. The other traveller, a native of Marocco, had resided some months in Gibraltar. He related that the route from Marocco to Benowm occupied 50 days, having the following intervals between the stations ; from Marocco to Swera, 3 days ; to Agadier 3 ; to Jiniken 10 ; to Wal de Non 4 ; to Lakeneig 5 ; to Zeeriwin Zeriman 5 ; to Tisheet 10 ; to Benown 10.

On the 30th of April the Moorish camp broke up from Benowm, at the approach of the army of Bambar to the frontiers of Ludamar, and retreated by the way of Farani, towards the north, to an encampment in the vicinity of Bubaker, a town inhabited by the Negroes. Here Mr Park had an interview with Fatima, the Queen, who was at first shocked with the appearance of a Christian, but became soon reconciled to him, when he had answered her a number of questions concerning the country of the Christians. This lady seemed to compassionate his situation, and, from her, he received the only instances of kindness which he experienced in Ludamar. The country around Bubaker presented only a dreary waste of sand, diversified with dwarf trees and prickly bushes, scattered at intervals. The insufferable heat had destroyed vegetation, and dried up almost all the water : nature seemed sinking



under its influence, and the stillness of the desert prevailed, except at the watering-places, where it was interrupted by the constant lowing of the cattle, furious with thirst, that contended around the wells, while those that were too weak to endure a struggle, devoured the black mud in their vicinity. From this scarcity of water, Mr Park suffered severely, though he received some supplies from Fatima; and, as the Moors at the wells were afraid of polluting their vessels with the touch of a Christian, he was forced, when he could procure water, to drink from the troughs with his head among the cows. The rainy season now approached, when the Moors annually retire to the Great Desert, and no opportunity occurred of effecting his escape, when he obtained leave, through the intercession of Fatima, to accompany Ali to Jarra, where he went to treat with the fugitive Kaartans, who solicited his assistance against Daisy, their native prince. From the first watering-place which they reached after their departure from Bubaker, the boy Demba was sent back to the Moorish camp, to the deep regret of Mr Park, who remonstrated in the strongest terms to Ali, who only told him, with a haughty look and malignant smile, that if he did not immediately mount his horse, he should likewise be sent back to Bubaker. At their arrival in Jarra, Mr Park immediately requested Daman Jumma, the slatee, to negotiate the release of

Demba with Ali, who refused it, upon the pretext, that he was the principal interpreter of the Christian, and might perhaps conduct him to Bambara ; but agreed, when there should be no danger of this, to transfer him to the slatee at the common price of a slave. The fugitive Kaartans offered to hire 200 of Ali's cavalry ; which the Moorish prince, with the warmest professions of friendship, agreed to furnish, upon condition that they should previously supply him with 400 head of cattle, 200 garments of blue cloth, and a considerable quantity of beads and ornaments. To this stipulation they agreed ; and, soon after Ali had received the articles, they were informed, by fugitives from Kasson and Kaarta, that Daisy, who had been informed of their intended attack, proposed immediately to visit Jarra. In order to anticipate him, they raised about 800 men, and entered Kaarta on the 18th of June. They also demanded their Moorish auxiliaries from Ali ; but that perfidious prince informed them, that his cavalry " were otherwise employed." On the 24th, the army of the confederates returned without venturing to encounter Daisy, after plundering some of his villages. But, on the 26th, the alarming intelligence arrived, that the king of Kaarta was on his march to Jarra, and had already taken Simbing. The inhabitants immediately prepared to evacuate the town, and the women continued all night beating corn, and packing up their

most necessary articles. Next morning, the greater number departed from Bambara, by the way of Deena, driving their sheep, cows, and goats, and carrying a small quantity of provisions and clothes : lamentation resounded along the road ; the women and children were crying ; the men were sullen and dejected, and, as they travelled on, frequently pausing to view their native city, and the wells and rocks to which all their plans of ambition and of happiness had been confined. The centinels soon after reported, that the confederate army had fled before Daisy, without firing a gun ; upon which the screams of the women and children redoubled, the remaining inhabitants deserted the town, and Mr Park, dreading to be mistaken for a Moor, in the confusion of victory, mounted his horse, took a bag of corn behind him, and joined the fugitives. At Queira he waited a few days for the arrival of some Mandingoes who were going to Bambara, when Ali's chief slave arrived with four Moors to conduct him to Bubaker. Two of them proposed to secure his horse ; but, as it appeared impossible to escape upon such an animal, they neglected this precaution. At this alarming intelligence, Mr Park resolved to attempt an escape ; and, packing up his clothes, which now consisted of two shirts, two pocket handkerchiefs, and two pair of trowsers, an upper and under waistcoat, a cloak, a hat, and a pair of half boots ; as soon as the Moors

were asleep, he stepped over the Negroes, who were sleeping in the open air, mounted his horse in great perturbation, and departed. When he had advanced a few miles, he saw himself pursued by three Moors, who were hooping and brandishing their double-barrelled guns. Mr Park now lost all hope of escaping, and resigned himself to his fate with the indifference of despair; but his pursuers were contented with plundering him of his cloak. At the departure of the Moors, he entered the wilderness, directing his course E. S. E. by the compass; the heat of the sun was increased by the reflection of the sand, and the ridges of the hills seemed to fluctuate like the sea, in the ascending vapour; Mr Park began to grow faint with thirst, and the horse restive from fatigue; often did he climb the tallest trees, to look for the ascending smoke of some village, or the traces of human habitations, but nothing appeared on the level horizon, but thick underwood and hillocks of white sand. The leaves of the trees which he chewed were bitter, but were devoured by the horse; and, as his fate seemed now inevitable, he took off the bridle, and, exhausted with fatigue, and affected with sickness and giddiness, sunk upon the sand in a state of insensibility. Recovering at length, he found the bridle in his hand; and, as the sun was sinking beneath the horizon, determined to make another exertion. As the darkness increased, he perceived some

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flashes of lightning, which indicated rain; the wind immediately began to roar among the bushes; and, when he opened his mouth to receive the drops, he found himself covered with a shower of sand. In a little while, the sand ceased to fly, and the expected shower arrived, when Mr Park spread out his clothes to collect the rain, and, by wringing and sucking them, quenched his thirst. Directing his way by the compass, which the flashes of lightning enabled him to view, he reached a Moorish watering-place about midnight, and, avoiding their tents, discovered some shallow muddy pools of water, by what he emphatically terms *the heavenly music* of the frogs, that completely covered the surface of the pools. Next day he arrived at Shrilla, a Foulah village, subject to Ludanfar, where the Dooty refused to relieve his necessities, and the men proposed to convey him back to Ali. Mr Park deceived them, taking a retrograde direction, as if he had been returning to the Moors; but before his departure, he addressed a venerable old woman, who was spinning cotton at the door of one of the huts, and making signs that he was hungry, upon which she invited him to enter her hut, and set before him a bowl of kouskous, and also procured corn for his horse. Mr Park presented her with one of his pocket handkerchiefs. All day he traversed a fertile level country; the third day the track became more hilly, and he arrived at a watering

place belonging to the Foulahs, where he was received with great hospitality. Journeying on during the night, at the approach of some travellers, he concealed himself among the thickets, where he sat holding his horse by the nose, with both his hands, in equal danger from the travellers in the open ground, and the wild beasts by which the bushes were haunted. Next day, July 5th, he reached Wawra, a small town surrounded with high walls, inhabited by Mandingoes and Foulahs, subject to Bambarra. He was now beyond the boundaries of Ludamar and the tyranny of Ali. Though this prince had been successful in his former wars against Bambarra, his army never exceeded 2000 cavalry. But though these compose his military force, they form but a small proportion of his Moorish subjects, as Mr Park, who had, however, no accurate method of estimating the Moorish population, was informed. The troops of Ludamar receive no pay, except what they derive from plunder. Their horses are excellent, and are often purchased by the Negro chiefs at the rate of 14 slaves. The dress of the Moors is similar to that of the Negroes, and only distinguished by the turban, which is none of the least obvious characteristics of a Mahometan. Length of beard is venerated as a mark of Arabian extraction. Mr Park's beard, which the Moors seemed to regard as too good a beard for a Christian, was the only circumstance in his per-

son or character which excited their approbation. Capital punishments are seldom inflicted in Luda-mar, except upon the Negroes. The Moors spend the day chiefly in conversing about their horses, or planning depredations on the Negro villages. As the king's tent is the chief public place, they often amuse themselves by chanting songs of adulation in his praise. It cannot be denied, that in every nation, that quality which causes revolutions, which elevates and destroys the works of men, which constitutes and abolishes laws, which founds, and which undermines empires and kingdoms, *Force*, which predominates in human affairs, has been more frequently the subject of the poet's panegyric, than any of the mild and useful virtues. Every nation applauds those qualities that are useful to itself. Civilized nations praise talents and virtues, savages hunting and fishing. "*That valiant man is dead,*" say the Brazilians, when lamenting their warriors, "*that valiant man is dead, who gave us so many*" "*captives to devour. Alas, the famous hunter!*" "*Alas, the excellent fisher! Alas, the valiant*" "*slayer of the Portuguese! He is dead! alas!*" "*he is dead, whom we lament, and we shall see*" "*him no more till we dance with him behind the*" "*mountains.*" The Scandinavian bards sung the praises of piracy, the Huns of robbery, and the Moorish minstrels applaud dexterity in plundering the Negroes. The expences of the king of Lu-

damar are defrayed by the taxes of his Negro subjects. In magnificence of dress and equipage, he exceeds the other Moors, but on common occasions, the distinctions of prince and subject are forgotten, and his majesty reposes on the same mat, and eats out of the same bowl with his camel-driver. Among the Moorish women, corpulence and beauty are nearly synonymous; a perfect beauty is a load for a camel, and a fine woman is unable to walk without a slave under each arm to support her. In order to acquire this artificial plumpness, the young girls are crammed, involuntarily, with milk and kouskous, by their mothers, who stand over them with a rod and enforce obedience.

From Wawra, Mr Park proceeded to Dingyee, where a Foulah, who received him with great hospitality, requested, at his departure, a lock of his hair, to make a saphie, imagining that a saphie, formed of the hair of white men, would bestow upon its possessor all the knowledge of the original owner. After indulging the Foulah's desire of knowledge, he advanced to Wassiboo, a small town in N. Lat.  $14^{\circ} 49'$ , where the cultivation of corn is carried on to such an extent, that "hunger is never known." Men and women labour in concert, and, in planting corn, use a paddle superior to that of the Gambian Negroes; but the frequent incursions of the Moors force them to carry their arms into the field, with their in-

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struments of agriculture. From Wassiboo, he proceeded by Satilè and Galloo, along with some fugitive Kaartans, to Moorja, a large town, where an extensive commerce in salt is carried on by the Moors, who exchange it for corn and cotton-cloth. The natives, who are Mahometans, are very hospitable, but prohibit Kafirs to drink *corn-spirit*, or beer. Advancing through a fertile romantic country, by Datliboo and Fanimboo, large villages, they reached Doolinkeaboo. As they approached Sego, the number of passengers on the roads augmented, and the people became less hospitable; but he observed, for the first time in Africa, that women were here admitted into society. Mr Park was constantly mistaken for a Moor by the Bambarrans, who jested upon the sorry appearance of himself and his horse, and affected to think that he had been at Mecca. On July 21st he reached Sego, and, a little before his arrival, he had the inexpressible satisfaction of beholding the long-sought majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly from west to east. Mr Park immediately hastened to the brink, and, having drunk of the water, returned fervent thanks to God, for having crowned his labours thus far with success. Sego, the capital of Bambarra, which lies in N. Lat.  $14^{\circ} 10'$ , and W. Long.  $2^{\circ} 26'$ ; 618 miles from Medina, the capital of Woolli, contains about 30,000 inhabitants. It

consists of four distinct towns, two of which are situated on the northern, and two on the southern bank of the Niger. They are surrounded with high mud walls ; the houses are of a square form, with flat roofs, and are built of clay ; some of them consist of two stories, and many are white-washed. The streets are narrow, and Moorish mosques appear in every quarter. It was a market-day, when Mr Park arrived at Sego, and such crowds were crossing the river, that he waited above two hours for a passage. In the meantime, Mansong the king was informed that a white man was coming to see him ; and, having been prepossessed against him by the Moors and Slatees residing at Sego, sent one of his chief men to forbid him to pass the river, till the king was informed concerning the object of his journey. The messenger directed him to lodge at a distant village, and promised to visit him in the morning. Mr Park observed, that the canoes upon the river were of considerable size, but had neither decks nor masts. They were formed of two large trees, made concave, and united longitudinally, with their ends to each other, which structure rendered them inconveniently long, and disproportionately narrow. The language of Bambarra he found to be a corrupted species of Mandingo, which he soon understood and spoke. On arriving at the village to which he had been directed, the inhabitants, who viewed him with

fear and wonder, refused to give him food, or admit him into their houses. Mr Park took off the bridle and saddle off his horse, and turned him loose to graze. The wind rose, and threatened a heavy rain, and Mr Park was sitting, weary and dejected, under a tree, when he was observed by a woman returning from the field, who, learning his situation, with looks of compassion, took up his bridle and saddle, and told him to follow her. She conducted him into her hut, lighted a lamp, gave him broiled fish to eat, and a mat to repose upon, and, with some young women, began to spin cotton. During this labour, which continued great part of the night, they amused themselves with songs, one of which, composed *extempore*, was sung by one of the young women to a sweet plaintive air. "The winds roared, and the rains fell. "The poor white man, faint and weary, came "and sat under our tree. He has no mother to "bring him milk, no wife to grind his corn. "*Chorus*.—Let us pity the white man—no mother has he," &c. Mr Park was deeply impressed with this instance of kindness to an unprotected stranger, and presented his benevolent hostess with two of the four brass buttons, which remained on his waistcoat, the only mark of gratitude, which it was in his power to bestow. Next morning, a messenger arrived from the king of Bambarra, who enquired if Mr Park had brought any present, and was informed that he had been

robbed of every thing by the Moors. He departed, and, in the afternoon, another messenger announced the order of the king to leave the vicinity of Sego, and presented him with 5000 cowries, which Mansong, desirous of relieving a white man, had sent him to purchase provisions on his journey. Mr Park estimates 250 cowries at the value of a shilling; and such is the proportion between their value and the price of provisions, that a man and his horse can subsist upon 100 for 24 hours. From the messenger, who was instructed to conduct him to Sansanding, if he intended to visit Jennè, he learned that the king of Bambarra had only been deterred from admitting him to his presence by the violence of the Moors, and the apprehension that it would be impossible to protect him from their malice; and that he had employed the only possible method of displaying his benevolence. The character in which Mr Park appeared, was extremely suspicious, and could hardly be distinguished from that of a vagabond or fugitive. When he related to the Bambarrans, that he had come from a great distance, and passed through many dangers, to behold the Joliba river, they naturally enquired whether there were no rivers in his own country, and whether one river was not like another, over all the world. The guide praised the hospitality of the Bambarrans, but related, that Jennè was entirely under the influence of the Moors, and only a nominal part of

the dominions of Bambarra. Mr Park, however, had proceeded too far, to recede upon vague report, and resolved to verify it on the spot; and, for this purpose, leaving Sego on the 23d, he advanced by Kabba to Sansanding. The extensive city of Sego, the canoes with which the river was covered, the numerous population, and the improved state of cultivation in the beautiful country which he traversed, presented a prospect of civilization which recalled more forcibly to his memory the centre of England, than the ideas he had formed of the middle of Africa. The inhabitants of the country were occupied in collecting the fruit of the shea-tree, from which the vegetable butter is prepared, which is a principal article of commerce in the interior districts. The shea-tree, which resembles the American oak, is indigenous in Bambarra, and is left growing, when the woodland is cleared. The butter is prepared from the kernel, which resembles a Spanish olive, and is enclosed in a sweet pulp, under a thin green rind; it is dried in the sun, and then boiled in water; the butter is whiter, firmer, and better flavoured than that of milk. Sansanding contains near 10,000 inhabitants, and is a considerable mart of Moorish commerce. Here Mr Park was mistaken for a Moor by the Negroes, but was soon discovered by the Moors, who accosted him with their usual arrogance and insolence, requiring him to recite the Mahometan prayers, in imitation of

the Jews, who, notwithstanding this conformity, and their general similarity to the Moors, are reckoned inferior to the Christians. Mr Park declared, that he could not speak Arabic ; when a Shereef from Tuat in the great desert, sprung up, and swore by the Prophet, that if he refused to go to the mosque, he would be one that would assist in carrying him ; when the Dooty, to whom he was conducted by the guide, interposed, and declared, that he was the king's stranger, and that he should not be injured while under his protection. At sunset, he was conducted into a neat hut, with a court before it, which was immediately filled with Moors, who clambered over the mud wall, in order to see him *perform his evening devotions, and eat eggs*. Mr Park assured them that he had no objection to eat eggs, if they would only procure them. When a number of eggs were brought by the landlord, they were much surprised that he could not eat them raw, imagining that Europeans subsisted chiefly on this food. But when the landlord discovered that a white man eat the same kind of food as other persons, he entertained him very kindly with plain substantial mutton. When the Moors had departed, he requested him to write a saphie, for, said he, " if a Moor's saphie be good, a white man's must be better." Upon which Mr Park furnished him with one of the best he could recollect, by writing the Lord's prayer on a thin board, with

a reed. On the 25th of July, he left Sansanding, and proceeded by Sibili, Nyara, and Nyamee, to Modiboo. Between Nyamee and Modiboo, he observed the guide examining the bushes with great caution, and, enquiring the cause, was informed that the woods were infested with lions. As they were crossing an open plain, interspersed with bushes, the guide suddenly wheeled round, and exclaimed, "a very large lion!" As Mr Park's horse was much fatigued, they rode slowly along, and began to think the alarm groundless, when he perceived a large red lion, couching with his head between his paws. Mr Park immediately disengaged his feet from the stirrups, in order to throw himself on the ground, but, while his eyes were rivetted upon the animal, his horse carried him slowly to a considerable distance, and the lion calmly retained his position. Soon after leaving Modiboo, his horse stumbled on the rough clayey ground, and, as he could not raise him up, he was forced to leave him, with the sad presage, that he should soon lie down and perish in the same manner, exhausted by hunger and fatigue. When he reached Kea, a small fishing village, he entreated the protection of the Dooty, who informed him coolly, that he paid no attention to fine speeches, and that he should not enter his house. From Kea, he was transported in a canoe to Moorzan, a fishing town on the northern bank, whence he was conveyed across the Niger to Silla,

a large town, situated in N. Lat.  $14^{\circ} 48'$ . and W. Long.  $1^{\circ} 24'$ . about 1090 British miles east of Cape Verd, and in the same parallel. At Silla, exhausted with sickness, hunger, and fatigue, half-naked, and without any article of value to procure provision, clothes, or lodging, while the intolerant fanaticism of the Moors, whose influence increased as he advanced, and the violence of the tropical rains, by which the swamps and rice-grounds were already inundated, presented insuperable obstacles to his progress; while inevitable destruction menaced him on the one hand, and the dangers of a journey on foot, for several hundred miles, through nations and regions entirely unknown, awaited him on the other,—Mr Park resolved to accept the only alternative which circumstances presented, and to attempt the preservation of those discoveries which he had made, by returning to the Gambia. He had now approached within 200 miles of Tombuctoo, which had long been the object of the research of the Portuguese, the French, and the English; he had ascertained the direction of the Niger, and followed its course for 70 miles to the east, and he now resolved, before his return, to collect from the Moorish and Negro traders, an account of its farther course, and of the kingdoms in its vicinity. He was informed that Jennè, a large town, which contains a greater number of inhabitants than Sego, or any other city in Bambarra, is situated on a small island



in the Niger, at the distance of two days journey from Silla. Two days journey below Jennè, the river expands into a considerable lake, termed Dibbie, the dark lake, in crossing which from west to east, the canoes lose sight of land for one whole day. From the lake Dibbie, the river issues in a number of streams, which, at a lower point, unite in two large branches, which, separating to a great distance, inclose the island Ginbala or Guinbala, which is about 100 miles in length. Ginbala is inhabited by Negroes, who live in considerable affluence, as the country is often visited by traders, who pass from the west to Tombuctoo, and who, from the swampy nature of the soil, intersected by numerous creeks, have been able to resist all the power of the Moors. The soil of this island is extremely fertile. The two great branches of the Niger, which insulate Ginbala, unite at Kabra, the port of Tombuctoo, which is one day's journey to the south of that city. On the northern banks of the Niger, at a small distance from Silla, the pastoral kingdom of Massina commences, inhabited by Foulahs, who are tributary to Bambarra. On the north-east of Massina, lies the kingdom of Tombuctoo, the capital of which is the principal emporium of the Moorish commerce in Africa. The government is in the hands of the Moors, who are more intolerant than in any other country. Mr Park was informed, by a respectable Negro, that when he first visited Tom-

buctoo, he took up his lodging in a public inn, when the landlord conducted him into his hut, spread a mat on the floor, laid a rope upon it, and thus addressed him, " If you are a Mussulman, " you are my friend, sit down ; but, if you are " a Kafir, you are my slave, and with this rope I " will lead you to market." The present king of Tombuctoo is named Abu Abraham ; his court is splendid and magnificent ; he possesses immense riches, and the expences of government are defrayed by a tax on merchandize. Houssa, the capital of a powerful kingdom, which lies to the eastward, is also a great mart of Moorish commerce, more extensive and populous than Tombuctoo, which it resembles in government and police, as well as in trade. At Houssa, the Negroes are more numerous than at Tombuctoo, and possess a share in the government. The Niger passes to the south of Houssa, at the distance of two days journey, but its farther course is unknown, and the traders who arrive at Tombuctoo and Houssa, from the east, are ignorant of its termination, and only declare, in general terms, that it runs *towards the rising sun, to the end of the world.* At Jennè, a language entirely different from that of Bambarra, termed by the Negroes *Jennè Kumbo*, and by the Moors *Kalam Soudan*, begins to be spoken ; but the merchants of the east use languages which are quite unknown. At Silla, Mr Park saw quivers and arrows of curious work-

manship, which had come from Cassina. On the south of Gimbala, lies the extensive Negro kingdom of Gotto, the capital of which is named Moossee, after a chief who had the address to unite the states into which the country was formerly subdivided, in a confederacy against Bambarra. Being appointed general, he embarked a fleet of canoes on the lake Dibbie, and, sailing up the Niger, took Jennè by storm, and forced the king of Bambarra to sue for peace, which was granted on condition of paying an annual tribute of slaves; and Moossee, returning to Gotto, was declared king of the country. On the West of Gotto, lies Baedoo, which is tributary to Bambarra. On the west of Baedoo, lies Maniana, the inhabitants of which are represented as cruel ferocious cannibals, who never give quarter to their enemies, by the Bambarrans, with whom they have been engaged in frequent hostilities.

From Silla, Mr Park returned by the same route, as the road along the southern bank of the Niger was represented as impassable, from the swampy grounds inundated, and the creeks flooded by the periodical rains. As he could not always procure a guide, he was often obliged to wade breast deep across the swamps; and though he recovered his horse at Modiboo, his journey was not only uncomfortable and dangerous, but his reception was every where more unfavourable than in his journey to Silla. At Sansanding, he learn-

ed that the suspicions concerning the object of his journey, had so much increased, that he was universally believed to be a spy ; and he was informed that the king of Bambarra had dispatched a canoe to Jennè to bring him back to Sego. This intelligence had almost determined Mr Park to swim his horse across the Niger, and attempt to penetrate to Cape Coast, through Kong or Gonyah, which was 10 days journey to the south. But, on considering the dangers which it was necessary to encounter, among nations whose language and manners were equally unknown, he resolved to advance towards the west along the Niger, and ascertain its navigable course in that direction. Leaving the vicinity of Sego, on the 13th of August, he travelled rapidly over a populous fertile country, through roads which the mud rendered almost impassable, frequently swimming over the creeks with the bridle of his horse in his teeth, and his papers in the crown of his hat ; mistaken frequently for a Moor, he was always received with rudeness and suspicion, subsisting on the same raw corn with his horse, except when the superstition of the Negroes induced them to purchase a white man's saphie, for a meal of rice or milk. Two days journey from Sego, he passed Sai, a large town, the walls of which, at the distance of 200 yards, were surrounded by two deep trenches, flanked with square towers, like a regular fortification. The inhabitants informed:

him, that, 15 years ago, the Dooty of Sai had two sons killed in the war of Maniana, and refused to send his sole surviving son to join the army of Bambarra, at the order of the king, who besieged Sai at his return from Maniana. As the inhabitants refused to surrender, though reduced to such an extremity by famine, that they devoured the bark and leaves of their bentang-tree, the king proclaimed, that if they would open the gates, no person should suffer injury, except the Dooty. The Dooty immediately resolved to sacrifice himself for the city, and walked out to the camp of Bambarra, where he was put to death, after which his son was massacred, and the inhabitants sold for slaves. At the village of Song, they refused to receive him within the gate, though the country was infested with lions. Mr Park collected grass for his horse, and lay down under a tree near the gate, but was soon roused by the roar of a lion, which advanced so near, that he heard him rustling among the grass, and immediately climbed the tree for safety. The inhabitants, who believed him to be a Moor, would not admit him till midnight; when, convinced of their error, they opened the gates, declaring that no Moor ever waited long at the gate of a city without cursing the inhabitants. As he was about to swim over the river Frina, and having fastened his clothes upon the saddle, was standing up to the neck in the water, pulling the horse by the bridle, a Ne-

gro, who accidentally approached, called to him vehemently to come out, or the alligators would devour both him and his horse. Emerging from the stream, the native, who had never seen an European, was astonished, and exclaimed, in a low voice, "God preserve me! who is this?" but, hearing that he could speak the Bambarra language, assisted him to cross the river, and conducted him to Taffara, where the inhabitants speak the pure Mandingo. From Taffara, he proceeded by Jaba and Somino, to the village of Sooha, where the Dooty refused to sell or give him food, and, calling one of his slaves, directed him to form a pit, while he continued to mutter some unconnected sentences, such as, "good for nothing," "a real plague." But as the pit began to assume the appearance of a grave, Mr Park, who had lingered for some time, suspecting it might be intended for himself, mounted his horse, with some expedition, when the slave dispelled his apprehensions, by bringing the corpse of a boy for interment. Advancing successively to Koolikorro, Marraboo, and Bamakoo, where the Niger first becomes navigable, 50 miles from Kamaliah in Manding, and 10 journeys from Sego. At Bammakoo, Mr Park was informed, that the only pervious route passed through Manding, by Sibidooloo, to which town a jilli-kea, or singing man, undertook to conduct him. After travelling two miles up a rocky glen, his musical companion discovered

that he had mistaken the horse-road, and, mounting over some steep rocks, left Mr Park to admire his agility, and discover his route himself. After regaining the road, he traversed some high rocky grounds, where the soil was shallow, and the rocks consisted of iron-stone, and schistus, with nodules of white quartz. On the south-east, he saw the mountains of Kòng, which, he was informed, were situated in a large kingdom, more powerful than Bambarra. In the evening, he reached the romantic village of Kooma, belonging to a Mandingo merchant, by whom he was received with the greatest kindness, and was soon surrounded by a circle of curious villagers, who, free from the depredations of war, exhibited, among these natural fastnesses, much native benevolence and pastoral simplicity. Next day, on his road to Sibidooloo, he was stripped and plundered of his horse, and almost all his clothes, by some marauding Foulahs of Fooladoo. Mr Park supposed them to be elephant-hunters, but was soon undeceived; he begged earnestly for his pocket-compass, but could only obtain from them the worst of his two shirts and a pair of trowsers. The robbers took his hat, but returned it when they perceived the papers in the crown of it. Robbed, and left naked and solitary in the wilderness, in the middle of the rainy season, above 500 miles from the nearest European settlement, he began to despond, and thought that no alternative remained, but to lie

down and perish. In this forlorn situation, he was solely supported and encouraged to persevere by the consolations of religion. At the moment when his mind was agitated by emotions of the most exquisite pain, when memory represented his friends and native country, only to increase his sufferings, by the torture of vain regret, the beauty of a small moss, in fructification, irresistibly attracted his attention ; and though the whole plant was not larger than the tip of his finger, he contemplated the delicate conformation of the root, leaves, and capsula, and, impressed with the powerful energy of divinity, displayed in the structure and preservation of so small a plant, sprung up with renovated hopes, and, travelling forward, soon reached a village, whence he proceeded to Sibidooloo, which he reached in the evening. Sibidooloo, the frontier town of Manding, is situated in a fertile valley, circumscribed by elevated rocky grounds, which are scarcely accessible to horse. It had never been plundered in the wars of the Bambarans, Foulahs, and Mandingoes. Upon stating his situation to the Dooty, he interested himself in his cause with great humanity, and promised to recover his horse and effects ; but, as the scarcity of provisions was very great, Mr Park resolved not to trespass on the humanity of the Dooty, (who is termed the Mansa, in Manding) but proceeded on his journey to Wonda, a small town with a mosque, surrounded with a high wall.



At one of the villages which he passed, he eat of an uncommon species of food, composed of the blossoms of maize stewed in milk and water. At Wonda, he remained for nine days, affected with severe feverish symptoms, occasioned by the united influence of mental anxiety, corporal fatigue, and exposure to the heat of the day, and the dews of night, almost without clothes. These symptoms he could not conceal from his landlord, whom he overheard observing to his wife, that their guest would probably occasion them much trouble and cost; as, for the sake of their good name, they would be forced to maintain him till he should either recover or die.

On the 6th of September, his horse and clothes were brought from Sibidooloo, where they had been recovered by the Mansa. But, as the roads were improper for travelling on horseback, at his departure, he presented him to his landlord, and desired him to send the saddle and bridle as a present to the Mansa of Sibidooloo. His landlord presented him with a spear, and leather bag to contain his clothes. The scarcity of provisions was so great, that mothers frequently sold one of their children to maintain the rest of the family. From Wonda he advanced to the villages of Ballanti and Nemacoo, where he could obtain no provision, as the people were almost starving. As it rained hard next day, he remained in the hut, where he was visited by Modi Lemina Taura, a Negro tra-

der, who brought him provisions, and conducted him next day to his own house at Kinyetoo, where he remained a few days. Passing through Dosita, he reached Mansia, a considerable town, where gold is collected. The Mansa sent him a little corn for supper, but demanded something in return, and Mr Park answering, that he had no article of value, he replied, "that his white skin should not protect him if he told lies." Next day he arrived at Kamaliah, a small town situated at the bottom of some rocky hills, where gold is collected in considerable quantities. The proper town is inhabited by the Kafirs, and the huts of the Bushreens are built at a little distance, beside their *missura* or mosque, a square piece of levelled ground, surrounded by the trunks of trees. Here, in a country where famine prevailed, sickly and exhausted, with the rapid river Kokoro before him, and the gloomy wilds of Jallonkadoo, when Mr Park thought he could almost point out the spot where he was to perish, he was unexpectedly relieved from the deepest distress, by the kindness of a benevolent Negro. Being conducted to the house of a Bushreen, named Karfa Taura, who was collecting a caravan of slaves, to conduct to the Gambia, at the termination of the periodical rains, he found him reading an Arabic book to some Slatees that were to join him. As the other Slatees had seen Europeans on the coast, they suspected Mr Park to be an Arab, from the yel-

lowness of his complexion occasioned by sickness, his long beard, ragged clothes, and extreme poverty. Karfa enquired if he understood Arabic, and, being answered in the negative, caused a little book to be brought; which had come from the west, which Mr Park was surprised to find *the Book of Common Prayer*. When Karfa perceived that he could read this book, he had no doubt that he was a white, and promised every possible assistance. He informed him that he intended to proceed to the Gambia, as soon as the grass was burnt, and the rivers could be forded, and advised him to stay and accompany the caravan, as it was impossible for a single white to pass the wilds of Jallonkadoo, when the natives could not travel through the country. Mr Park answered, that, having expended all his money, he must either remain to perish with hunger, or beg his subsistence on his journey; when the benevolent Negro assured him, that if he could subsist upon the country victuals, he would maintain him till the termination of the rains, and conduct him to the Gambia, where he might reward him as he thought proper. Mr Park offered to pay him the value of a prime slave, which he agreed to accept, and immediately appropriated a hut to his use, and, notwithstanding the malicious insinuations of the invidious Slatees, continued to treat him with the kindest attention. But no accommodation could suspend the progress of the fever,

which had gradually acquired strength, and now became so violent, that, during five weeks, he was confined to his hut, and so debilitated, that he could hardly stand upright. In the beginning of December, a Serawoolli Slatee arrived from Sego, with slaves, one of whom asked Mr Park to give him some food ; and, upon his answering that he was a stranger, the slave replied, " I gave you " victuals when you were hungry. Have you " forgot the man who brought you milk at Ka- " rankalla ;" adding, with a sigh, " the irons " were not then upon my legs." Mr Park immediately recollected one of his Kaartan friends, who had been taken by the Bambarrans, and gave him some earth-nuts, which he received from Karfa. On the 19th of December, Karfa went to purchase slaves at Kancaba, a large town on the Niger, where an extensive commerce in gold and slaves, is carried on, and, during his absence, committed his guest to the care of the schoolmaster, a Bushreen of mild manners and tolerant principles, who possessed various books and MSS. and read them with indefatigable application. The scholars received their instructions in the morning and evening, and, during the day, were employed as domestic slaves in the service of their master. They are chiefly the children of Pagans, who, induced by the desire of knowledge, imbibe and propagate the doctrines of Mahomet ; by this species of proselytism, which, except at Sierra

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Leona, has never been attempted by the Christians. Mr Park believes, that a short introduction to Christianity, elegantly printed in Arabic, and distributed among the Negroes, who read that language, would have a wonderful effect in disseminating the mild doctrines of Christianity, and, from its superior elegance and cheapness, might soon be classed among the school-books of Africa. On the 24th of January, Karfa returned from Kancaba ; and, as all the Slatees and slaves of the cofle or caravan, were assembled at Kamaliah and its vicinity, various days were appointed for commencing the journey, which were repeatedly changed, till, at last, they all resolved to remain in Manding, till after the fast of Rhamadan. The Negroes did not, like the Moors of Ludamar, compel Mr Park to observe this religious ceremony ; but, as a testimony of respect for their religious opinions, he fasted three days, voluntarily, which was reckoned sufficient to exempt him from the charge of infidelity. During this residence in Manding, he had an opportunity of acquiring accurate information concerning the manners of the people, and the nature and productions of the soil, though the danger of exciting the suspicions of the natives, prevented a very particular investigation. The property of the soil in Manding, seemed to be vested in the Mansas or chief magistrates, as managers of the public concerns, who assign to individuals as much territory as they can cultivate,

without infringing the rights of others. As the soil is extremely fertile, the long grass, which, when withered, is used as a species of hay in Ludamar, is annually burned down in Manding and the Negro countries. The conflagration presents a scene of stupendous grandeur : at night, the plains and mountains are streaked with lines of fire; and the heavens are inflamed with the reflected light ; during the day, moving pillars of smoke tower to the heavens, and the birds of prey hover round the blaze, to feast on the reptiles which endeavour to escape the flame. The majesty of this scene is only equalled by the conflagration of an Indian forest, which the Hindûs assert to be frequently occasioned by the percussion of the flexile canes, agitated by the storm :

In Mysore thus the shrill tornado raves,  
And bends the pliant canes in curling waves,  
Grinds their silicious joints with ceaseless ire,  
Till bright emerge the ruby seeds of fire ;  
While heav'n's broad arch around him seems to  
blaze,  
The Hindu dreads on seas of flame to gaze ;  
While o'er him floats the burning crimson ray,  
That flashes o'er the earth infernal day :  
The hills resound with one discordant yell  
Of fiercest beasts that, harmless, crowd the dell ;  
The barb'rous tiger whets his fangs no more,  
Nor laps, with ling'ring wrath, his victim's gore.

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Curb'd of his rage, the lion's strength is tame,  
And owns the pow'r of all-devouring flame.

The gold of Manding is never found in any matrix or vein, but, like that of Bambouk, scattered in small grains of pure metal through the strata of sand or clay. The women chiefly employ themselves in collecting it, and the Mansa of a particular district appoints a day for the purpose, when all that are concerned assemble. A person may collect, in general, during the dry season, as much as is equal to the value of two slaves. Gold abounds every where in Manding and Jallonkadoo, especially in the hilly district of Boori, or Bowriah, 4 journeys to the south-west of Kamaliah. The gold obtained is either used in commerce, or wrought into ornaments for the women. The standard of value in computation is the *min-kalli*, a quantity of gold in value about 10s. In Bambarra, Kaarta, Jallenkadoo, and the woody districts, elephants are numerous, and often hunted, but never tamed. The Negroes cannot believe that ships are built, and voyages undertaken, to procure ivory, only to be used for handles to knives, when pieces of wood would be equally convenient; and therefore imagine that it is employed for some more important purpose which is concealed from the Negroes, lest they should raise its price. The system of domestic slavery prevails, in the same manner as on the coast; and

a free man may lose his liberty in war, resign it in famine, or forfeit it by insolvency, or the crimes of murder, adultery, and sorcery.

On the 19th of April, which had been fixed as a fortunate day, the cofle, consisting of 73 persons, free men and slaves, after various prayers and superstitious ceremonies, departed from Kamaliah, and proceeded by Bala and Maraboo to Worumbang, the frontier village of Manding. Next day they crossed the Kokoro, a branch of the Senegal, and arrived at Kinytakooro in Jallonkadoo. This town they entered in procession, with six singing men, who belonged to the cofle, in front, followed by the free men, after whom came the slaves, fastened by fours to one rope, with a spearman betwixt every four; in the rear advanced the domestic slaves, followed by the free women, and the wives of the Slatees. At the distance of 100 yards from the gate, the singing men raised a song, in which they celebrated the hospitality of the inhabitants to strangers, and their partiality to the Mandingoes. When they arrived at the Bentang, the inhabitants assembled to hear their history, which the singing men related, in a retrograde order, from their arrival to their departure from Kamaliah; after which they were accommodated with lodgings and provisions in the houses of the natives, by whom they were individually invited. On the 23d, they entered the Jallonka wilderness, covered with thick primæval fo-



rests, yet beautifully variegated with hill and dale. Through these wilds they passed rapidly with forced marches, without seeing any human habitation for five days, during which they endured every species of fatigue, and were only stimulated to perseverance by the danger of being left behind in the woods, to perish with hunger or be devoured of wild beasts, which they heard during the night, howling around them. On the second day, one of the female slaves refused food, and began to fall behind; being relieved of her burden, she was soon dreadfully stung by a hive of bees, which the coffle had disturbed. Declaring she would rather die than advance another step, the whip was applied, by which she was made to walk a few hours longer, when she sunk completely exhausted. As the Slatees were unwilling to abandon her, she was carried, during the remainder of the day, on a litter formed of bamboos. Next day, her limbs were so stiff and painful, that she could not move, and was placed, like a corpse, on the back of an ass, whence she was immediately thrown by the refractory animal, and severely bruised. As it was impossible to convey her through the woods, it was proposed to cut her throat; but as Karfa and the schoolmaster of Kamaliah, who formed one of the caravan, refused to consent to this measure, she was abandoned on the road. On the 27th, they reached Sooseeta, a small Jallonka village, where they found the inhabitants very inhospita-

ble. Next day they arrived at Manna, an unwalled town, the inhabitants of which were collecting the fruit of the nitta-tree, the pod of which is long and narrow, containing a few black seeds, enveloped in a fine powder of a bright yellow colour, like the flower of sulphur, which has a sweet mucilaginous taste. Upon this powder, and the seeds of the bamboo, which, when dressed, taste like rice, they were informed, the inhabitants of Kullo, the district of Jallonkadoo, which lies upon the Ba-fing, or *black river*, the principal branch of the Senegal, had subsisted during a famine, before their present crops were collected.

The Jallonkas, like the Mandingoes, are governed by petty independent chiefs, between whom animosity commonly subsists. Their country is extensive and hilly. Their language is different from the Mandingo, though many of the words have a great affinity. Their numerals, like those of the Feloops, Jaloffs, Foulahs, and various other African nations, retain the traces of the original digital arithmetic, suggested to rude nations by the five fingers; for the series only proceeds to five, and then re-commences five-one, five-two, &c. They crossed the Ba-fing, near Manna, over a bridge constructed of bamboos, placed upon two tall trees, the tops of which are tied together, and left to float on the stream, while the roots are fastened to the rocks. This bridge is annually carried down by the rise of the river,

and repaired by the inhabitants of Manna, who exact a small contribution from every passenger. Dreading an attack of the Jallonkas, who, as they were informed, intended to plunder the coffle, they traversed a rough stony country, with great rapidity, till they arrived at Malacotta in Woradoo, the native town of the schoolmaster, who, from his gratitude to Karfa, entertained them for several days. Malacotta is a large unwalled town, the houses of which are formed of bamboo wicker, plaistered with mud. The inhabitants manufacture excellent iron, and form a good soap, by boiling ground-nuts in water, and adding a ley of wood-ashes. During their stay in Malacotta, they received information concerning a religious crusade which had been carried on by the king of Foota Torra, against the Damel of the Jaloffs, and had become a favourite subject with the minstrels of the country. This zealous prince, being inflamed with an ardent desire of saving the souls of his infidel neighbours, sent an ambassador to the Damel, accompanied with two Bushreens, who carried each a large knife on the top of a pole, and thus explained the emblems of their mission: "With this knife, Abdulkader will  
" condescend to shave the head of Damel, if Da-  
" mel will embrace the Mahometan faith; and  
" with this other knife, Abdulkader will cut the  
" throat of Damel, if Damel refuses to embrace  
" it,—take your choice." The Damel coolly in-

formed the ambassador, that as he neither chose to have his head shaved, nor his throat cut, he had no choice to make. The king of Foota Torra, with a powerful army, immediately invaded the Jaloffs, who at first retreated before him, after filling up the wells, destroying their provisions, and carrying off their effects; but soon after surprized him, at a watering place, during the night, when many of his army were trampled to death by the Jaloff horses, many killed, and a still greater number taken prisoners, among whom was Abdulkader himself. When brought before the Damel, that prince thus addressed him: " Abdulkader, " answer me this question ;—If the chance of war " had placed me in your situation, and you in " mine, how would you have treated me ?" " I " would have thrust my spear into your heart," said Abdulkader, " and I know that a similar fate " awaits me." " Not so," replied the Damel, " my spear is indeed red with the blood of your " subjects, killed in battle, and I could now give " it a deeper stain, by dipping it in your own ; " but this would not build up my towns, nor bring " to life the thousands who fell in the woods. I " will not therefore kill you in cold blood, but I " will retain you as my slave, until I perceive " that your presence in your own kingdom will " be no longer dangerous to your neighbours ; " and then I will consider of the proper way of " disposing of you." The king of Foota Torra

was accordingly retained, and laboured as a slave for three months, when he was restored to his kingdom by the *Damel*.

*Foota Torra* is a populous fertile country of considerable extent, which lies intermediate to the *Jaloffs*, the *Foulahs* of the *Siratick*, *Kajauga Bondou*, and *Woalli*. The government is in the hands of the *Foulahs*. From this country came the extraordinary Negro *Job Ben Solomon*, who being seized by the *Mandingoes*, in a trading expedition to the *Gambia* in 1731, was sold to a slave-trader and carried to *Maryland*. He escaped from his master, and fled into *Pennsylvania*, where he was re-taken; but his misfortunes exciting some attention, he was soon after redeemed, and carried into *England*. Here he was patronized by various eminent persons, as *Sir Hans Sloane*, the *Duke of Montague*, the *Earl of Pembroke*, and the *Royal Family*; and, after receiving many valuable presents, was restored to his country in 1734. At his arrival, he found that his father, the chief *Marabout*, was dead, and one of his wives had married another husband. *Job* declared that he could not blame his wife or her husband, since they knew "that he had gone to a land whence "no *Foley* had ever returned." He was a man of acute genius, an excellent understanding, and a prodigious memory. He easily comprehended the mechanism of various machines, was able to repeat the whole *Koran*; and during his residence

in England, actually wrote three copies of it from memory. He was employed by Sir Hans Sloane in translating various Arabic MSS. and inscriptions of medals ; and was well acquainted with the Jewish history. He said, " Jesus Christ " was a very good prophet, who would have done " much more good in the world, had he not been " killed by the wicked Jews, which rendered it " necessary for God to send Mahomet to confirm " and improve his doctrine." He was extremely offended that any painter should presume to draw God Almighty, whom no mortal had ever seen ; and never pronounced the name of *Allah*, without a remarkable pause, and a peculiar accent. Though neither intolerant nor superstitious, he was extremely exact in the performance of his religious ceremonies ; and while he resided at Montague-house, the servants complained that he soiled the stairs by retiring so frequently to pray. He related, that in Foota Torra, the wives are never unveiled in presence of their husbands, till three years after their marriage : and that the marriage ceremony represents a rape, as the bride is carried off by moon-light, with violent shrieks, by the bridegroom and his companions, while her friends affect to rescue her from the ravisher. The marriage-ceremonies of every rude nation have some allusion to the violence with which nuptials are often consummated among savage tribes, and among the savages of New Holland,

this violence is not emblematical, but real. From his account of Foota Torra, that kingdom seems to have been more extensive than at present, and to have comprehended Bondou. He mentions, that many of the inhabitants were elephant-hunters, and related various instances of the sagacity of that animal. One of the hunters informed him, that he had seen an elephant surprise a lion, and carrying it to a tree, split it, and inclosing the lion's head in the splinters, leave it to perish : and he himself declared, that he had seen an elephant seize a lion, carry it to a muddy pool, and hold it beneath the water till it was dead.

On the 7th of May, Mr Park departed with the coffle from Malacotta, and traversing Konkodoo, "*the billy country*," which abounds in gold and satadoo, which had been much depopulated by the incursions of the Foulahs of Foota Jello, arrived at Baniserile, the capital of Dentila, on the 13th. He obtained little information concerning the political state of these regions, which do not lie in so high a level as Mending, Jallonkadoo, Fooladoo, Gadon, and Kasson. The district containing these countries is the most elevated in West Africa, descending rapidly on the east, but more gradually on the west. It is of a triangular form, extending about 330 miles on the south between Bambarra and Neola, and contracting to 60 or 70 in the space which is occupied by Kasson, between Ka-juaga and Kaarta. Bambouk, Konkadoo, which

is termed Macanna by Labat, Satadoo, and Dentila, which occupy the place of Combregoudou, in that author, are situated on an inferior level, which extends to Kirwanny, where the country begins to descend rapidly to the west, and is denominated *the land of the setting sun*. At Dindikoo, in Konkadoo, Mr Park saw an Albino, or white Negro; his complexion was cadaverous, and his hair and skin of a dull white colour, considered by the Negroes as the effect of disease. From Baniserile, they advanced to Kirwanny, a large town situated in a valley. The inhabitants of this town are active and industrious, and their agriculture is more improved than any of their neighbours. Advancing through the Tenda wilderness, a rugged sloping country, covered with wood, on the 2d day they arrived at Tambacunda, a walled town, to the west of which there are no shea trees. This seems to be the Tombac-onda of Jobson. Here one of the Slatees had a wife; but on her arrival he found she was married to another, who refused to deliver her up, alleging that she was at liberty to marry, by an African law, which permits this privilege to any woman, whose husband is absent three years without informing her that he is alive. After holding a palaver on the subject, it was determined that the wife should take her choice of the two husbands. They departed from Tambacunda on the 26th, and after passing Tenda, and crossing the Nerico, the sixth

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stream which Mr Park had observed to fall into the Gambia, from the N. E., their arrival in the country of the west, or the land of the setting sun, was celebrated by the singing men in a particular song. They soon after reached Seesukunda, in Woolli ; the slaves had collected great quantities of the fruit of the Nitta tree, but were not permitted to bring it within the village, as the inhabitants believed that some great calamity would happen to the place whenever the inhabitants lived upon the nitta. On the 4th they arrived at Medina, and on the day following at Jindey, where Mr Park had left Dr Laidley, 18 months before. Here Karfa left his slaves, after hiring huts for their accommodation, and a piece of land on which to employ them in raising provisions for their subsistence ; and proceeded with one of the Foulahs of the coffle towards Pisania. Mr Park could not leave, without sensible emotion, those unfortunate persons doomed to a life of slavery in a foreign land, who had often alleviated his sufferings, when their own were infinitely greater, who of their own accord had often brought him water to quench his thirst, and formed his bed of leaves in the wilderness. At Pisania, he was received like one returned from the dead by Dr Laidley, as all the traders on the Gambia had been informed that he had been murdered by the Moors of Ludamar. Dr Laidley undertook to discharge all pecuniary engagements which

he had entered into since his departure from the Gambia, and assured Karfa that he would assist him to dispose of his slaves to the best advantage. This respectable Negro was surprised when he was informed that he would receive goods to the amount of double the sum which he had been promised by Mr Park, who likewise sent the school-master a handsome present to Malacotta. But the superiority of the Europeans in manufactures and the arts of civilized life, excited his astonishment; he examined the furniture of the house, the masts, sails, rigging, and construction, of the trading schooner; and, with an involuntary sigh, exclaimed, "Black men are nothing." When Mr Park resumed his English dress, he surveyed him with great pleasure, but was displeased at the loss of his beard, which, he said, "had converted him from a man into a boy." On the 17th of June, Mr Park embarked in an American slave-vessel, and proceeded to Goree, where they were detained till the beginning of October. The surgeon having died of a fever, Mr Park acted in his medical capacity during the remainder of the voyage. Many of the slaves had heard of Mr Park in the interior countries, and some of them had seen him. After a voyage of 35 days, they reached Antigua, where Mr Park embarked in the Chesterfield packet, and on December the 22d arrived at Falmouth.

Thus terminated the journey of Mr Park, unquestionably the most important ever performed by an European in Nigritia. Though unable to reach Tombuctoo or Houssa, he established a number of geographical positions, in a direct line of 1100 miles, reckoning from Cape Verd; he fixed the common boundaries of the Moors and Negroes in the interior, and pointed out the sources of the three great rivers, the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Niger. He has explained to us the method of proselytism, by which the Mahometan religion is propagated among the Negroes; and he has illustrated the history of the ancient Lotophagi. He has restored to the Niger its ancient course, and by this means rendered intelligible the descriptions of the interior, which were formerly involved in inextricable confusion. Herodotus originally assigned an eastern course to the great river of Africa, on the south of the desert, which he supposed to be a branch of the Egyptian Nile, and describes as flowing through Africa, in the same manner as the Danube divides Europe. He adds, that the Africans of the Mediterranean, who made the discovery, were carried to a great city on the banks of the river, inhabited by Negroes. Pliny assigns the Niger, *the river of the blacks, or the Ethiopians*, an eastern course; and Ptolemy, who distinguished it both from the Gambia and the Senegal, directs it from W. to E. over half the breadth of Africa, between

the Atlantic and the course of the Nile. In the 12th century, Edrisi, who supposed the continent of Africa to be 1000 miles narrower than its actual extent, who knew that the waters in the west of Nubia ran towards the west; that in the same parallel, the great river Senegal discharges itself into the Atlantic; and that a large river ran in the direction of a straight line between them; concluded that they all belonged to the same river, and assigned the Niger, Julbee, or Joliba, a western direction. Edrisi was followed by Abulfeda, who terms it *the Nile of Gana*. The inaccuracy of the trading merchants, who, like Leo, seem never to have visited the river though they frequented its vicinity, continued to the present time, the error which originated in the 12th century. By the Moors, the Niger is termed *Neel Abeed*, the river of slaves, and *Neel Kibbeer*, the great water; by the Negroes it is commonly denominated *the Joliba*, or great water, but its proper name is the *Guin* or *Yin*. It is not impossible, however, but this latter name may only signify *the river*, like the name *Ji* or *Gee*, which the Mandingoes apply to the Gambia. Marmol relates, that the river of Tombuctoo is termed *Ixa* by the Tombuctans, *Maye* by the Tukorons, or Tukorols, and *Zimbale* by another Eastern nation. When Mr Park was at Kamaliah, the source of the Niger was pointed out at the distance of 108 miles to the south, at Sankary, the

Songo of D'Anville, about 80 miles east of the source of the Gambia in Fouta Jolla. It is impossible to leave Mr Park without acknowledging the sagacity and prudence with which he prosecuted his design, the intrepidity with which he encountered the most formidable dangers, and the perseverance with which he surmounted the obstacles which presented themselves to his progress. His ignorance of the Arabic language was a disadvantage of the most important nature, and probably had considerable influence in preventing his attempt from being crowned with the most brilliant success ; but he accomplished much, and the friends of science will expect that he should derive from his country the rewards of his activity and perseverance.

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Park's Travels in the interior of Africa ; De la Brue's Voyage and Travels along the Western coasts of Africa ; Moore's Travels into the inland parts of Africa ; Bluet's Memoirs of Job Ben Solomon.

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## C H A P. XIII.

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ACCOUNT OF THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA—TOMBUCTOO—HOUS-  
SA—GAGO OF EYEO—DAUMA, OR DAHOMY—THE MAHEES  
AND TAPPAS—MELLI—CASSINA—BORNOU—FEZZAN—TI-  
BESTI—WANGARA—BEGARMEE—BERGOO—DARFOOR—  
DAR-KULLA—DONGO—SHILLUK.

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PURSUING the course of the Niger from Silla the termination of the route of Mr Park, through the interior regions of Africa, kingdoms and nations occur, which are only known to Europeans from the rapid and imperfect itineraries of the Mahometan traders, and the inaccurate geography of Edrisi and Leo. Of these Moorish itineraries, a considerable number were collected by the late respected Mr Beaufoy, whose care in collating and comparing these inaccurate relations, is acknowledged by the learned and ingenious geographer Major Rennell. Besides the unavoidable errors which result from imperfect recollection, and the mixture of observation and testimony, the indistinct and varying pronunciation of names, is a fertile source of inaccuracy. The different flexibility of the vocal organs, the provincial and national peculiarities of sound, and the different

degrees of attention in the individual, render it as impossible for two persons to express the same tones of sound, from memory, as the same shades of colour by a pencil. Nor does this occur alone in the open or vocalic sounds, but even the more definite elements of speech, the consonants, are varied by the addition of guttural sounds and aspirations of various degrees of force, which, when transferred into written characters, produce inextricable perplexity. The similarity of the various forms of the alphabetical characters, and the use of vocalic points, are considerable sources of inaccuracy in the Arabic, the predominating language in Africa. The use of vowel points marks the transition from the most simple syllabic characters to the pure alphabetical. The characters of the Ethiopic, a kindred dialect of the Arabic, are rather syllabical than alphabetical; and the Arabic characters themselves seem originally to have possessed a syllabical power, since they contained no vowels, which were afterwards supplied by points, when the powers of the alphabetical characters were better defined. In the unwritten dialects of Africa, the diversity of pronunciation is still greater and more arbitrary, and the contractions and metamorphoses of proper names, are similar to those which occur in the conversational dialect of the vulgar in every nation. These causes may account for the number of synonymes that occur in the geography of Africa, and for

the obscurity which still hangs over the history of the African tribes.

Before the journey of Mr Park, the position of Tombuctoo was indeterminate, and the information concerning it, which had been received in Europe, was not only superficial and unsatisfactory, but founded on dubious authority. Oral report, which distorts the features of distant nations into monsters, and magnifies their stature into that of giants, had covered the roofs of the houses of Tombuctoo with gold, and heaped up piles of the gold of *Tybar*, (*gold*, which was mistaken for a proper name by the early voyagers) in the treasury of the king ; but it had neither determined the position of the town, nor defined the limits of its territory. The accurate Rennell fixes the position of Tombuctoo by approximation to N. Lat.  $16^{\circ} 30'$  and E. Long.  $1^{\circ} 33'$ . The city was originally founded by the Assenhagi Arabs, and the present town was built upon the site of another much more ancient, of the same name, in 1221, by king Mense Suleiman, or Soliman. About the middle of the 16th century, under its able and politic prince Izchia, Tombuctoo acquired sufficient power to subdue all the adjacent states, and extend its authority over Agadez, Cassina, Guber, and various other states of the east and south. In 1540, according to Marmol, who accompanied the Moorish army, this prince opposed the emperor of Morocco, with an army of 300,000 men, and forced him to retreat across the desert. About the end



of the century, however, the arms of Marocco were more successful, and, for a considerable period, the black troops of Marocco were recruited in the territories of Tombuctoo.

Houssa, which lies about 200 miles to the east of Tombuctoo, is an extensive city, the capital of a powerful monarchy, the territories of which are supposed to extend along the northern banks of the Niger to those of Cassina, and to occupy the ancient dominions of Tocrur, or Tekrur. In the days of Leo, Houssa had not yet emerged from obscurity. On the southern bank of the Niger, on the east of Kong, the south-east of Baedoo, and the north of Tonouwah, lies the Negro state of Kaffaba, concerning which nothing distinct and accurate is known.

On the south-east of Kaffaba, in the same parallel of latitude with the empire of Houssa, from which it is separated by a desert of 10 days journey, lies the kingdom of Gago, famous for its traffic in gold, which formerly attracted the ambition of Marocco, the arms of which, under Muley Hamet, in 1590, were so successful, that an immense quantity of gold was conveyed across the desert by the victorious army. As no European has ever visited this country, no lucid account has ever been obtained, either of the topography and productions of the soil, or of the manners and habits of the inhabitants. From the relation of Leo, which has been cited, and that of the Moorish tra-

ders on the Gold Coast, we are only certain that immense quantities of gold are collected from the mountains, which either intersect the country, or form its southern boundary. On the south of Gago, or Gugoo, lies the powerful kingdom of Eyeo, or Haiho, the Oyeo and Okyou of Barbot ; if it be not actually the same with Gago, as is, with much plausibility, conjectured by the ingenious Mr Archibald Dalzel, in his History of Dahomy. The aspirated Moorish G often assumes the sound of a hard H, as in the pronunciation of the English *George*, which becomes Horké, or Horché, and the aspirated H, in conversational language, is frequently softened into the simple vocal sound of E, as the Greeks frequently softened the aspirate, or *spiritus asper* into the simple E, or *spiritus lenis*. The Eyeos are a numerous warlike nation, and the only one over whom the fearless warriors of Dahomy do not claim the superiority. Their armies are composed of cavalry, and the prowess of the warrior, which, among the Iroquois of North America, is marked by the number of scalps, is displayed among the Eyoos, by the number of indecent bloody trophies procured by the mutilation of the slain. A warrior is prohibited, on pain of death, from taking an enemy prisoner, before he has obtained a hundred of these trophies. A similar custom is practised by the Abyssinians and the Gal-las, and, as appears from the history of David \*,

\* Samuel xviii. 25.

formerly existed among the Jews. The following circumstance gives us a more formidable idea of the numbers than of the discipline of an Eyoe army. When their general takes the field, he spreads a buffaloe-hide before the door of his tent, and, pitching a spear in the ground at each side, causes the soldiers to march over it till a hole be worn through the hide, when he presumes his army is sufficiently numerous. The monarch of the Eyoes possesses absolute power, but is subject to a singular regulation. When his conduct is offensive to the mass of the people, a deputation is appointed to offer him a present of parrot eggs, and to represent, "that, as he must be fatigued with the burden of government, his subjects consider that it is now time for him to repose from his solicitude, and indulge in a little sleep." His majesty thanks his subjects for their attention to his ease, retires to his apartment, and directs his women to strangle him, which is immediately performed, and his son succeeds upon the same terms as his father. In 1774, however, his Eyoe majesty peremptorily rejected the present of the parrot eggs, assuring the deputation, "that as yet he had no inclination to sleep, but resolved to watch for the good of his people." According to Diodorus, a similar practice prevailed at Meroë, where the priests were accustomed to notify to the king, by a similar message, that the Gods, whose will mortals could not resist, had devoted

him to death by his own hand. This order had been implicitly obeyed for ages, when Ergamenes, whose mind had been imbued with the philosophy and literature of the Greeks, in the reign of the second Ptolemy, upon receiving the dreadful order, marched his army to Arata, the city of the priests, and of the golden temple, and utterly exterminated their race. The Eyeos seem long to have possessed the paramount authority over the regions which lie southward, between them and the sea. Dahomy owns their power, and, in 1698, they seem to have possessed the sovereignty of Ardra, for they depopulated that kingdom at that period, on the appeal of the Ardranese to the king of Eyeo against the tyranny of their chief; and, in 1786, when the Dahomans commenced hostilities against this kingdom, they were prohibited by the Eyeos, who informed them that "Ardra was Eyeo's calabash, out of which no body should be permitted to eat but himself." The Eyeos never approach the sea, which is their national fetiche; that they are on pain of death prohibited to view.

On the south of Eyeo, and east of the Volta, lies the powerful kingdom of Dahomy, the Damma of Leo, by whom it is first mentioned, which, though it owns the supremacy of Eyeo, has often been victorious over its arms. Abomy, the modern capital, lies in N. Lat.  $7^{\circ} 59'$ . This kingdom occurs in its true position, in the maps of Sa-

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nnto, Plancius, and Mercator, where *Dawbee*, the ancient capital, is denominated *Daurina*. In 1700, it was erased from the maps of Africa, and the existence of the ancient nation of Dauma denied, till 1727, when it emerged from obscurity, and became known by the conquests of the maritime states of Whidah and Ardra. Between Dauma and Gago, the lake Sigesmes, or Guarda, (which extends about 100 leagues from east to west, and 50 from north to south, which lies about 370 miles N. N. E. of Ardra, and is represented as the source of various large rivers, which descend into the Gulf of Guinea) is placed by Barbot and Snelgrave, who derived their authority from the native traders. It neither occurs in Edrisi nor Leo, though it is found in the maps to Ruscelli's edition of Ptolemy, in 1561. Dahomy is a fertile cultivated country; the soil is a deep rich reddish clay, intermixed with sand, scarcely containing a stone of the size of an egg in the whole country. It is extremely productive of maize, millet, beans, yams, potatoes, cassada, plantain, and the banana; indigo, cotton, tobacco, palm-oil, and sugar, are raised, as well as a species of black pepper. Bread, and a species of liquor, or rather diluted gruel, are formed of the lotus-berry. Animals, both wild and tame, are numerous, and the lakes abound in fish. The maritime districts of Whidah and Ardra, before they were ruined by the Dahomians, were highly cultivated and beautiful. "The vast

“ number and variety of tall and spreading trees,” says Smith, “ seeming as if they had been planted for decoration, fields of the most lively verdure, almost wholly devoted to culture ; plains embellished with a multitude of towns and villages, placed in full view of the surrounding district ; a gradual and almost imperceptible ascent to the distance of 40 or 50 miles from the sea, which terminates the prospect ;—formed the most picturesque scene imaginable, unobstructed by hill or mountain.” The Ardranese had attained such a degree of civilization, that they were able to correspond with each other by a species of *quippos*, similar to the Peruvian, and formed by the combination of knots upon a cord, to which particular significations were attached.

The character of the Daumanese, or Dahomans, is original and strongly marked ; they have retained peculiar manners, and have had little intercourse with either Europeans or Moors. They exhibit the germ of peculiar institutions and modifications of manners, that have appeared incredible to modern nations, when they perused the ancient records of the Egyptians, Hindûs, and Lacedæmonians. Like the Lacedæmonians, they display a singular mixture of ferocity and politeness, of generosity and cruelty. Their conduct towards strangers is hospitable, without any mixture of rudeness or insult. Their appearance is manly, and their persons strong and active ; and though

they are less addicted to the practice of tatowing than their neighbours, their countenance rather displays ferocity than courage. Their government is the purest despotism ; every subject is a slave ; and every slave implicitly admits the right of the sovereign to dispose of his property and of his person. " I think of my king," said a Dahoman to Mr Norris, " and then I dare engage five of the enemy myself. My head belongs to the king, not to myself : if he please to send for it, I am ready to resign it ; or if it be shot through in battle, I am satisfied—if it be in his service." This attachment continues unshaken, even when their nearest relations become the victims of the avarice or caprice of the king, and his enormities are always attributed to their own indiscretions. With this devoted spirit, the Dahoman rushes fearless into battle, and fights as long as he can wield his sabre. In 1775, when the viceroy of Whidah was disgraced, one of the military officers declared, " that it was his duty to accompany the general to the field ; and if ever he betrayed the least symptom of cowardice, or showed the soles of his feet to the enemy, he hoped the king would have his cutlass ready to behead him, at the moment of his return. " But this," said he, " will never happen ; for, should I ever suspect that I am accused of treachery, of turning my back on the foe, or giving cause of complaint, I shall never afford

“ the prime minister an opportunity of asking impertinent questions, or of interfering between me and my sovereign : I prefer death at any time.” Soon afterwards, this officer found himself left almost alone in his post, after detaching the flower of his troops to the assistance of his companions. Perceiving that it was impossible to retrieve affairs, at the approach of the enemy, he called for his *large stool* or chair, dismissed his attendants, sat down, and singly awaited the attack. When the enemy advanced, he stood up, and fired his musket, till he was surrounded, when he drew his sabre, and rushed into the thickest ranks, where, after killing numbers, he was overpowered and taken prisoner. The king of Dahomy, who highly approved of his conduct, paid his ransom, but he refused to return, and observing to the messenger, that “ though he might perhaps be the most ugly of his majesty’s subjects, yet there were none more loyal,”—stabbed himself with his sword. Another Dahoman general, being about to engage the Popoes, with a very inferior force, drank success to the arms of his king, and, dashing the glass to pieces, wished, “ that if he was unsuccessful, he might not survive the disgrace, but perish like the glass which he broke.” The metaphors and idiomatical expressions of this nation have generally a reference to their *bodily strength* and the *sharpness* of their swords. The significant titles which the king as-



sumes, are termed his *strong* names. When the king prohibits the minstrels from entering upon a disagreeable subject, he announces that the topic is too *strong* for him. The modern history of the Dahomans realizes all that history has recorded of ancient Lacedæmon, and of those Lacedæmonians of the north, the inhabitants of Jomsburgh, who were forbidden to mention the name of *Fear*, even in the most imminent dangers, and who proudly declared that they would fight their enemies, though they were stronger than the Gods. Saxo relates, that when Frotho, king of Denmark, was taken prisoner in battle, he obstinately refused to accept of life, declaring, that the restoration of his kingdom and treasures could never restore his honour, but that future ages would always say, *Frotho has been taken by his enemy*. The palace of the king of Dahomy, is an extensive building of bamboo and mud-walled huts, surrounded by a mud-wall about 20 feet high, inclosing a quadrangular space of about a mile square. The entrance to the king's apartment, is paved with human skulls, the lateral walls adorned with human jaw-bones, with a few bloody heads intermixed at intervals. The whole building resembles a number of farm-yards, with long thatched barns and sheds for cattle, intersected with low mud-walls. On the thatched roofs, numerous human skulls are ranged at intervals, on small wooden stakes. In allusion to these, when the king issues orders for

war, he only announces to his general, *that his house wants thatch*. In this palace, or *large house*, as it is termed by the Dahomans, above 3000 females are commonly immured, and about 500 are appropriated by each of the principal officers. From this injurious and detestable practice, originates many flagrant abuses ; the population is diminished, the sources of private happiness destroyed, and the best feelings of human nature being outraged, the energies of passion are converted into bitterness and ferocity. The first of these evils is the establishment of a legal system of prostitution, as a considerable proportion of the inferior classes are unable to procure wives. As children, whether male or female, are considered as the exclusive property of the king, they are separated from their parents at an early period, and receive a species of public education, by which means family connections are annihilated, and the insulated individual becomes a passive instrument of tyrannical power. When an individual is able to procure 20,000 cowries, he prostrates himself at the gate of the king, or his vicegerent, presents the money, and begs to be favoured with a wife, when, instead of selecting a natural friend, equally adapted to gratify the affections of the heart, and relieve the restlessness of his temperament, he must take the female assigned him, whether she be old or young, handsome or deformed. Sometimes, out of malicious sport, a man's own mother is handed out

to him, so that he both misses a wife, and loses his money. In 1775, the viceroy of Whidah was disgraced and punished with death, for the following speech, extorted by indignation at a procession of the king's women. " Ah ! see  
" what a number of charming women are devoted to the embraces of one man ! while we who  
" bore the dangers of the siege of Whidah, and  
" defeated Abavou and his army, have been presented with such as are hardly good enough for  
" house-sweepers. It is ungenerous, but we are  
" Dahoman-men, and must submit." The king's female guard seems in some measure to explain the origin of the ancient opinion concerning the Amazons. Some hundreds of the king's women are regularly trained to the use of arms, under a female general, and subordinate officers appointed by his majesty. They are regularly exercised, perform their military evolutions, with as great dexterity as any of the Dahoman troops, and parade in public with their standards, drums, trumpets, flutes, and martial music. It is criminal for any Dahoman to assert, that the king is so similar to other mortals, as either to eat or sleep. At his accession, he proclaims that he knows nobody, and is not inclined to make any new acquaintance ; that he will administer justice with a rigorous and impartial hand, but will listen to no representations, nor receive any presents, except from his officers, who approach him grovel-

ling in the dust. The Dahomans maintain the true doctrine of passive obedience, and the divine right of kings, in the utmost purity, and their history exhibits no example of a deposition. At his accession, the king *walks in blood* from the palace to the grave of his predecessor, and annually *waters the graves of his ancestors with the blood of human victims*. The death of the king is only announced by fearful shrieks, which spread like lightning from the palace to the extremities of Dahomy, and become the signal for anarchy, rapine, and murder, which continues till the new king ascends the throne. The religion of Dahomy is vague and uncertain in its principles, and rather consists in the performance of some traditional ceremonies, than in any fixed system of belief, or of moral conduct. They believe more firmly in their amulets and fetiches, than in the deity; their national fetiche is *the Tiger*; and their habitations are decorated with ugly images, tinged with blood, stuck with feathers, besmeared with palm-oil, and bedaubed with eggs. As their ideas of deity do not coincide with those of Europeans, they imagine that their tutelary gods are different. "Perhaps," said a Dahoman chief to Snelgrave, "that god may be yours, who has communicated so many extraordinary things to white men; but as that God has not been pleased to make himself known to us, we must be satisfied with this we worship." The Daho-

mans manufacture and dye cotton cloth, and form a species of cloth of palm-leaves. They are tolerably skilful in working in metals. The bards, who celebrate the exploits of the king and his generals, are likewise the historians of the country. Their historical poems, which are rehearsed on solemn occasions, occupy several days in the recital. These may probably compare with the legends of Ossian, and of the Irish, Gaelic, and Welch bards. It is probable that the legends of Dahomy are equally authentic with these; for, in every rude age, it is the interest of the bards not to touch upon subjects *too strong* for their respective chiefs. The Persian Hafez would have been put to death by Tamerlane, merely for preferring, like a true innamorato, the charms of his mistress to the gold of Bokhara, and the gems of Samarcand, had he not saved himself by an ingenious quibble, to prove a various reading. How much authentic history may we then derive from oral and poetical legends!! The Dahomans, though they do not use human flesh as an article of food, yet devour the flesh of human victims as a religious ceremony, at their solemn feasts; and their ancient practice seems to be marked by their ordinary phrase of *eating their enemies*, by which they denote *taking them alive*. Though the martial genius of the Dahomans remains unaltered, their military exploits have not been remarkable, since the reign of Guadjá Trudo, the

conqueror of Whida Ardra, Torree, Didouma, Ajirah, and Jacquin, who died in 1731. Guadjá Trudo was almost as good a conqueror as any Barbarian that was ever dignified with that appellation. He waded to glory through seas of blood, I am not sure if we may call it innocent; if he did not exhibit true magnanimity, he always displayed what is equally good for a conqueror, a true belligerent insensibility to the miseries of his own, and of every other nation; and, when he could not lead the Dahomans, he drove them to victory. His policy was that of an ambitious savage, who sought to retain the territory he had conquered, by burning the towns, and massacring the inhabitants; but his views were more extensive than those of his countrymen, and the character given of him by Snelgrave appears to be just; who declares, that he found him the most extraordinary man of his colour with whom he had ever conversed. His fame still remains in Dahomy, where his memory is revered, and where, in the most solemn oaths, they swear by his name. Bossa Ahadee, and Adahoonzou, the son and grandson of Trudo, possessed the same restless ambitious spirit, without his martial talents. A speech of the last, in favour of the slave-trade, to governor Abson, who had read to him some pamphlets on that subject, is worthy of attention, not only as it displays the sentiments of an African prince, but because it contains the

essence of all that can be urged in favour of that execrable traffic. “ I admire the reasoning of  
“ the white men,” said Adahoonzou, “ but with  
“ all their sense, it does not appear that they have  
“ thoroughly studied the nature of the blacks,  
“ whose disposition differs as much from that of  
“ the whites, as their colour. The same Great  
“ Being formed both ; and since it hath seemed  
“ convenient for him to distinguish mankind by  
“ opposite complexions, it is a fair conclusion to  
“ presume, that there may be as much disagree-  
“ ment in the qualities of their minds. There is  
“ likewise a remarkable difference between the  
“ countries which we inhabit. You Englishmen,  
“ for instance, as I have been informed, are sur-  
“ rounded by the ocean, and by this situation  
“ seem intended to hold communication with the  
“ whole world, which you do by means of your  
“ ships ; whilst we Dahomans, being placed on  
“ a large continent, and hemmed in amidst a va-  
“ riety of other people, of the same complexion,  
“ but speaking different languages, are obliged,  
“ by the sharpness of our swords, to defend our-  
“ selves from their incursions, and punish the  
“ depredations they make on us. Such conduct  
“ in them is productive of incessant wars. Your  
“ countrymen, therefore, who allege that we go  
“ to war for the purposes of supplying your ships  
“ with slaves, are grossly mistaken.

“ You think you can work a reformation, as  
“ you call it, in the manners of the blacks ; but  
“ you ought to consider the disproportion between  
“ the magnitudes of the two countries ; and then  
“ you would soon be convinced of the difficulties  
“ that must be surmounted, to change the system  
“ of such a vast country as this. We know you  
“ are a brave people, and that you might bring  
“ over a great many of the blacks to your opi-  
“ nions, by the points of your bayonets ; but to  
“ effect this, a great many must be put to death,  
“ and numerous cruelties must be committed,  
“ which we do not find to have been the practice  
“ of the whites ; besides, that this would militate  
“ against the very principle which is professed by  
“ those who wish to bring about a reformation.

“ In the name of my ancestors and myself I a-  
“ ver, that no Dahoman man ever embarked in  
“ war, merely for the sake of procuring where-  
“ withal to purchase your commodities. I, who  
“ have not been long master of this country, have,  
“ without thinking of the market, killed many  
“ thousands, and I shall kill many thousands  
“ more. When policy or justice requires that  
“ men be put to death, neither silk, nor coral,  
“ nor brandy, nor cowries, can be accepted as  
“ substitutes for the blood that ought to be spilt  
“ for example sake. Besides, if white men choose  
“ to remain at home, and no longer visit this  
“ country for the purpose that has usually brought

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“ them hither, will black men cease to make  
“ war? I answer, by no means. And if there  
“ be no ships to receive their captives, what will  
“ become of them? I answer for you, they will  
“ be put to death. Perhaps you may ask, How  
“ will the blacks be furnished with guns and pow-  
“ der? I reply by another question: Had we  
“ not clubs, and bows, and arrows, before we  
“ knew white men? Did you not see me make  
“ *custom* for Weebaigah, the third king of Da-  
“ homy? And did you not observe, on the day  
“ such ceremony was performing, that I carried  
“ a bow in my hand, and a quiver filled with ar-  
“ rows on my back? These were emblems of  
“ the times, when, with such weapons, that brave  
“ ancestor fought and conquered all his neigh-  
“ bours. God made war for all the world; and  
“ every kingdom, large or small, has practised  
“ it more or less, though perhaps in a manner  
“ unlike, and upon different principles. Did  
“ Weebaigah sell slaves? No; his prisoners  
“ were all killed to a man. What else could he  
“ have done with them? Was he to let them re-  
“ main in his country, to cut the throats of his  
“ subjects? This would have been wretched po-  
“ licy indeed, which, had it been adopted, the  
“ Dahoman name would have been long ago ex-  
“ tinguished, instead of becoming, as it is at  
“ this day, the terror of surrounding nations.  
“ What hurts me most, is, that some of your

“ people have maliciously represented us in books,  
“ which never die, alleging that we sell our wives  
“ and children for the sake of procuring a few  
“ kegs of brandy. No ; we are shamefully be-  
“ lied, and I hope you will contradict, from my  
“ mouth, the scandalous stories that have been  
“ propagated ; and tell posterity that we have  
“ been abused. We do, indeed, sell to the white  
“ men a part of our prisoners, and we have a  
“ right so to do. Are not all prisoners at the  
“ disposal of their captors ? And, are we to  
“ blame, if we send delinquents to a far coun-  
“ try ? I have been told you do the same. If  
“ you want no more slaves from us, why cannot  
“ you be ingenious, and tell the plain truth ; say-  
“ ing, that the slaves you have already purchas-  
“ ed, are sufficient for the country for which you  
“ bought them ; or that the artists, who are us-  
“ ed to make fine things, are all dead, without  
“ having taught any body to make more ? But,  
“ for a parcel of men with long heads, to sit  
“ down in England, and frame laws for us, and  
“ pretend to dictate how we are to live, of whom  
“ they know nothing, never having been in a  
“ black man’s country during the whole course of  
“ their lives, is to me somewhat extraordinary.  
“ No doubt, they must have been biassed by  
“ the report of some one who has had to do with  
“ us ; who, for want of a due knowledge of the  
“ treatment of slaves, found that they died on

“ his hands, and that his money was lost ; and  
“ seeing others thrive by the traffick, he, envi-  
“ ous of their good luck, has vilified both black  
“ and white traders.

“ You have seen me kill many men at the  
“ *Customs* ; and you have often observed delin-  
“ quents at Grigwhee, and others of my provin-  
“ ces, tied and sent up to me. I kill them : but  
“ do I ever insist on being paid for them ? Some  
“ heads I order to be placed at my door ; others  
“ to be strewed about the market-place, that  
“ people may stumble upon them when they lit-  
“ tle expect such a sight. This gives a gran-  
“ deur to my *Customs* far beyond the display of  
“ the fine things which I buy. This makes my  
“ enemies fear me, and gives me such a name in  
“ *the bush* \*. Besides, if I should neglect this  
“ indispensable duty, would my ancestors suffer  
“ me to live ? Would they not trouble me day  
“ and night, and say, that I sent nobody to serve  
“ them ; that I was only solicitous about my own  
“ name, and forgetful of my ancestors ? White  
“ men are not acquainted with these circumstan-  
“ ces ; but I now tell you, that you may hear,  
“ and know, and inform your countrymen, why  
“ *Customs* are made, and will be made, as long  
“ as black men continue to possess their own  
“ country. The few that can be spared from this

\* The interior wood-land.

“ necessary celebration, we sell to the white men ;  
“ and happy, no doubt, are such, when they find  
“ themselves on the path for Grigwee, to be  
“ disposed of to the Europeans. *We shall still*  
“ *drink water, say they to themselves, white*  
“ *men will not kill us ; and we may even avoid*  
“ *punishment, by serving our new masters with fi-*  
“ *delity.*”

This is certainly an excellent specimen of Negro acuteness ; but the arguments used by the king of Dahomy are totally unsatisfactory and inconclusive. Where they prove any thing, they prove too much, and depend entirely upon the untenable position, that the manners and customs of Africa are unalterable, and the necessary result of the genius of the people. They assume, that the introduction of civilization and humane manners, without violence, is impossible ; and as they apply equally to every nation on the earth, if they were just, they would demonstrate civilization to be impossible, and are consequently disproved by fact. Some of these observations are local, and only relate to Dahomy ; but not a single argument militates, in the slightest degree, against the colonial establishment at Sierra Leona. The enemies of the slave-trade only reply with indignant contempt, that the *customs* of Africa are inhuman, barbarous, and bloody ; that the execrable practice of domestic slavery is inimical to the improve-

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ment, and destructive of the happiness of men ; that the detestable slave-trade supports and aggravates these enormities, and that they will not exhibit themselves before God and man, the accomplices of any barbarian monarch or slave, whether of Europe or of Africa.

On the west of Dahomy lies Mahee, an extensive territory, divided into a number of small independent states, regulated by their own laws, which, when menaced by external danger, unite to form a kind of aristocratical republic. The Mahees have supported numerous and bloody wars against Dahomy and Eyoe, the direct object of which has often been their extermination, and sometimes the imposition of a king upon the republic. In 1737, Bossa Ahadee, king of Dahomy, commenced a war against them, which continued for 35 years, alledging, that peace could neither be secured, nor the mutual faith of treaties maintained, between Dahomy and Mahee, until the latter was governed by *one* king. After immense devastation, the barbarian was compelled to relinquish his purpose. The real occasion of the war was, the desire of the Dahoman king to elevate the brother of his wife, who was a Mahee, to the sovereignty of that country.

On the east of Dahomy, adjacent to the Eyoës, lie the powerful nation of the Tappas, to whom even the Eyoës are subject, and whose authority they are unable to shake off. It is only a few

years since a prodigious army of the Eyoës were defeated, with dreadful slaughter, by this nation ; though, according to the Eyoe idiom, the buffaloe's hide had been twice trodden in raising their army. This seems to be Bitä, or Bitos, mentioned by Leo, with Dauma, or Dahomy, Tenuamia; or Tonouwah, termed also Tomian, Gorania, or Begarmee, and Medera, (which is unknown) as rich and industrious.

Melli and Cassina are placed on the east of Gago and Houssa, by Rennell, who thinks with Hartmann, the editor of Edrisi, that Melli is the Lamlem of the Nubian Geographer, so denominated by a transposition frequent in Arabic. Madel, which may be a synonyme of Melli, is placed by Edrisi 12 journeys to the S. W. of Ghana, and 10 to the S. E. of Berissa, which lies 12 journeys west from Ghana. This position accords with the distance of 30 journeys from Tombuctoo, assigned by Cadamosto \* to Melli ; but Leo, who

\* Cadamosto, one of the most early discoverers of Africa, was an Italian, employed by Prince Henry of Portugal. At the age of 22, he departed from Venice in 1454, and performed the voyages of which he has given the relation. He visited Sierra Leona, and, in 1456, discovered the Cape Verde islands. His voyages are the oldest modern journals in which a distinct detail of incidents is given ; for the relations of prior navigators are only short detached memorandums. Cadamosto is the first who mentions the gold trade.

places Melli on the W. of Gago, seems rather to have intended Kong by that denomination. Leo also relates, that the inhabitants of Melli were extremely rich, and the most civilized of the Negro nations. Melli was conquered by Izchia king of Tombuctoo. Cadamosto relates, that the caravans of Melli traded with gold to Marocco, by the route of Hoden; to Tunis, by Toet or Tuat, and to Cairo, by Kokhia or Kuku. He adds, that they procured this gold by a singular species of barter, with a nation who deposit their gold in exchange for salt, but never exhibit their persons. The king of Melli directed his subjects to conceal themselves in pits, and seize some of these invisible personages. One was accordingly caught, who refusing either to eat or speak, died in four days. The captors related, that these Negroes were exceeding black, well shaped, and a span taller than themselves. Their eyes were large and black: their under lip was thicker than a man's fist, and hung down on their breasts, exposing their gums, which, like their under lip, were red, and distilled blood continually. Their

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of Tombuctoo and Melli. The original Italian is to be found in the Collection of Ramasio. The *Novus Orbis* of Grynæus contains a Latin translation, in which, by a strange mistake, the departure of the author from Venice is dated in 1504, though he declares himself that he was employed by Prince Henry, who died in 1463.

teeth were extremely large, especially those in the corners of their mouths.

On the north of the Niger, and in the same parallel with Melli, lies the extensive and powerful empire of Cassina, which comprehends all the districts that lie in a straight line between Fezzan and the Niger, and to which the appellations of Soudan and Affnoo are often applied in a limited sense, though they commonly denote all the territories of the Negroes. On the north it is bounded by the mountains of Eyrè, which separate it from Fezzan, and on the east, by Zanfara and Bornou. Cassina, the capital, is situated five journeys to the north of the Niger, in N. Lat.  $16^{\circ} 20'$ , and W. Long.  $11^{\circ} 45'$ . Cassina is not mentioned by Edrisi, being probably at that period subject to Ghana or Ghinny, which has now, in its turn, become one of its provinces. After the power of Tombuctoo was reduced by the arms of Marocco, it was long considered as the most powerful central empire in Africa; but, at present, though the Sultan of Cassina or Soudan still enumerates a thousand towns and villages in his extensive domains, he is reckoned much inferior in power to the emperor of Bornou. The territories of Cassina consist of a large proportion of land of amazing fertility, interspersed with arid wastes, where the rays of the sun, reflected from the sand, glow like an immense furnace with intense and suffocating heat, and sandy heaths, where the o-



doriferous shé plant, which, though superior in fragrance, resembles the wild thyme of Europe, vegetates luxuriantly. The surface of the ground is generally level, though interrupted by naked rocks, and rising in some places into mountains of considerable elevation. The soil is sandy, but intermixed in various proportions with a flat black vegetable mould, insalubrious, in some degree, to animal life. As the rains are more temperate than in some of the more northern districts of Africa, the ground is extremely productive of beans and maize, of which a peculiar species, cultivated in this country, is beautifully variegated with red and white. No salt is produced in Cassina, but the merchants of Agadez, one of its provinces, transport it in great great quantities from Dombou in Bornou. Besides Cassina, the principal cities of this country, the names of which are known to Europeans, are Ganatt, the Cano of Leo, (which has often been mistaken for Ghana, though placed at the distance of 500 miles, in an easterly direction from the Niger) Assouda, Agadez, which are inhabited by Mahometans, and Ghana, or Ghinny, alternately subject to Cassina and Wangara. Ganatt, which is situated amid barren sandy heaths, lies at the distance of 14 journeys from Mourzouk in Fezzan, and 17 from Assouda. The territories of this city are described by Leo, as desert and mountainous, though the city was rich and populous, from its convenient position for

trade. Its walls and houses were built of chalk. It seems, at that period, to have been the capital of an extensive province, alternately subject to Zegzeg and Cassina. At the conquest of these kingdoms, Cano also became subject to Tombuctoo. Assouda is situated 8 journeys from Agadez; the intermediate country is beautiful and fertile, presenting numerous herds of cattle grazing between the fields of maize. Agadez, the Agadost of Edrisi, a large populous trading city, lies in N. Lat.  $20^{\circ} 20'$ ; about 479 G. miles from Mourzouk, and 229 from Ghana or Ghinny, the position of which has already been mentioned. The salt caravan of Agadez traverses the vast desert of Bilma, and reaches the salt lakes of Dombou, probably the Chelonides Palus of Ptolemy, after a journey of 45 days: it consists of 1000 camels, maintained for the purpose, and accustomed to this perilous route. The merchants of Cassina export gold-dust, slaves, senna, civet, cotton-cloth, dyed goat-skins, ox and buffaloe-hides; and import European cloths, and iron-ware, horses, cowries, and gooroo-nuts. In cloths, the glaring colours are most acceptable, and the inhabitants of Fullan, a district on the west of Cassina, wear clothes which are checked with various colours, like the plaids of the Scotch Highlanders. The majority of the population consists of Negroes, who adhere to their ancient superstitions, though the king and many of the chiefs are Mahometans. The go-

vernment seems to have originated in the predominating influence of a powerful tribe, reducing to subjection those in its vicinity. Hence the tribes which own allegiance to Cassina, differ in language, character, and manners. The succession to the throne is determined by the election of the chief men, but their choice is confined to the Royal Family.

Fezzan, which borders on Cassina on the north, is a small circular territory, situated like an island amid the wilderness of sand. It is an extensive plain, surrounded by an irregular circle of mountains, interrupted on the west, where it communicates with the desert. On the soil, which is chiefly a light sand, no rain ever falls, but the vegetation is luxuriant, from the number of subterraneous springs, which burst through the shallow stratum of sand, and are copiously supplied by the adjacent mountains. Little wheat is raised, but maize and barley are produced in considerable quantities, with pompions, carrots, cucumbers, onions, and garlick. The most common trees are the date, the white thorn, and the talke, which, in size, resembles the small olive, flowers in yellow sprigs, and affords a hard lemon-coloured wood, employed in framing instruments of agriculture. The most sandy soils produce a species of brushwood, resembling the Spanish broom. The camel, the goat, and the hairy broad-tailed sheep, of a light brown colour, are the most

frequent domestic animals. The most common wild animals, are, the ostrich, the antelope, and a small beautiful species of deer, of a clear white colour, streaked with different hues of brownish red, which, as the Fezzanese believe, never lies on the ground during the autumnal rains, to avoid sullyng its colour. The number of towns and villages is supposed to amount nearly to an hundred. Mourzouk, the capital, lies in N. Lat.  $27^{\circ} 48'$ , and E. Long.  $15^{\circ} 3'$ , about 280 miles from Mesurata, 1040 from Tombuctoo. Germa, an ancient ruined city, is situated in N. Lat.  $27^{\circ} 25'$ , and E. Long.  $16^{\circ} 20'$ . Zuela or Zawila, Tessouwa, Temissa, Kattron, Mendrah, and Tegerhy, are mentioned among its towns. In most of these towns, and dispersed through the open country, numerous ruins of ancient buildings occur, which exhibit the vestiges of former grandeur, in the proportions and durability of their structure, the number and size of the cisterns, and the construction of the vaulted caves, similar to those which frequently present themselves among the ridges of Atlas. Fezzan is the Phazania Regio, which Pliny relates was conquered by Corn. Balbus, who took both Allele and Cillaba, in this country, and, at his return to Rome, obtained a triumph. The barren province of Mendrah derives considerable consequence from the quantity of *trona*, or fossile alkali, which is produced on the surface of its smoking lakes, and

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is employed in dyeing the Marocco leather. The houses of Fezzan are built of clay, covered with a flat roof, formed of the boughs of trees, over which earth is spread. The Fezzanese, who, by the inhabitants of Tripoli, are reckoned remarkably ugly, have less similarity to the Arabs than to the Negroes, whom they resemble, not only in their dark swarthy colour, but in the protuberance of the lips, the depression of the nose, and in their short crisped black hair. Their stature is tall, and their form good, but they neither possess strength nor activity. They are represented as a hospitable nation, by persons of the same religion, which is rigid Mahometanism. Their dress is the same with that of the Moors. Though the Fezzanese trade with the most adventurous spirit, through all Africa, and have some artificers in their towns; yet the principal occupations of the people are agriculture and pasturage. Their diseases are chiefly of the inflammatory and putrid kinds, and they have much greater confidence in charms than in medical applications. They bask, without injury, in the burning rays of the noon-day sun, and, when enquiring after a person's health, ask, "if he is not cold." The government is purely monarchical, and is only restrained by the influence of opinion, which, among rude nations, constitutes a feeble barrier to injustice. The royal family is descended from that of Taphilet, by whom Fezzan was conquered about 400 years ago. From that period to the middle of the pre-

sent century, this kingdom maintained its independence, when it was conquered by the Basha of Tripoli, and forced to pay an annual tribute of 50 slaves and 10 lbs. of gold dust. The Tripolitan Basha still speaks of *his kingdom* of Fezzan, but the annual tribute has been reduced to an insignificant occasional present. The revenues of the king arise from the duties upon merchandize, and the taxes of the towns, villages, gardens, and date-fields. Gold-dust is the medium of commerce. No national forces are maintained in Fezzan; but it is supposed that about 20,000 armed men may be raised on an emergency. Fezzan is separated from the domains of Tripoli on the north, by the black barren desert of Soudah, the soil of which is chiefly composed of a soft stone, which gives rise to no vegetable but the talk-tree and a species of broom.

Gadamis, an oasis of much smaller extent, lies on the N. W. of Fezzan, about N. Lat. 32. It is situated 24 journeys to the south of Tunis, and 48 to the north of Agadez in Cassina, and is tributary sometimes to Tripoli, but more frequently to Tunis. The soil is dry and barren, producing great quantities of dates, but little corn. The domestic animals are camels and goats. The Gademsis carry on a considerable trade with the Negroes by the routes of Fezzan, Taboo, and Tuat, a similar oasis, which lies 20 journeys to the south-west of Gadamis. Morgan relates, that

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he was told by a Gademsi, at Algiers, that his countrymen spoke the ancient original African language, and that there was a remarkable fountain in Gadamis, alternating from hot to cold, like that which is said by Lucretius and Pliny, to have been situated in the country of the Garamantes. Gadamis, like Fezzan, contains many ancient ruins.

On the N. E. of Fezzan, lies the desert of Sort, which is prolonged into that of Barca, through which the Cairo caravan, consisting of between 100 and 300 travellers, passes from Mourzouk, which it leaves about the end of October. The route, which occupies 53 days, and about 770 miles, crosses the mountains of Xanibba, Ziltan, and Sibbeel, to Augela, the *Ægila* of Herodotus, and Angila of Ptolemy and Pliny, which lies in N. Lat.  $29^{\circ} 20'$ . From Augela, after crossing the barren ridges of Gerdobah, the *Catabathmus* of the ancients, which divided Cyrene from *Marmarica*, they reach in seven days the narrow sandy plain of Gegabib, extremely fertile in dates. As it is uninhabited, these are gathered by the inhabitants of Derna, the ancient Darnis, situated on the sea-coast, about the distance of 130 miles. Herodotus relates, that the Nasamones were accustomed to leave their cattle on the coast, while they proceeded into the interior, to collect dates on the plains of *Ægila*. On the south of this route, lies the great desert of Lybia, which is pos-

possessed by the wandering tribe of Lebata, or Levata, the Lybians of the ancients, from whom Africa derived its Grecian name, as they probably occupied the shore of Cyrene, when that country was colonized by the Greeks. Some of the stragglers of this nation seem to have been seen by Mr Park, who mentions the *Libey*, a wandering tribe, resembling the Gypsies of Europe.

Tibesti, a mountainous district, lies on the S. E. of Fezzan, from which it is separated by a barren desert of 200 miles. Its vales are fertile in corn, and its mountains afford excellent pasturage. Its camels are reckoned the best in Africa. Rain seldom falls in Tibesti, but its want is compensated by innumerable springs. The inhabitants are rude and ferocious, and, secure in the strength of their native mountains, harass their neighbours with frequent hostilities. Though they traded with Fezzan in senna and camels, they frequently molested the caravans of that country on their journey to Bornou. At last, the king of Fezzan dispatched against them an army of 4000 men, which, after a sharp encounter reduced them to subjection, as the mountaineers were intimidated by the fire arms of the Fezzanese. They engaged to pay an annual tribute of 20 camel-loads of senna, but neglected this after the departure of the army, though they did not again attempt to plunder the caravans. There are some Mahometans in Tibesti.



Bardoa, which lies on the east of Tibesti, is distant 500 miles from the Nile, according to Leo. The inhabitants formerly lived on terms of hospitality with the Gademsis, while they were the inveterate enemies of the Fezzanese. Leo mentions, that about 18 years before he wrote his history, three towns were discovered in an oasis, by a blind man, who conducted the caravans through the desert, by smelling the sand of the country, which he traversed. Approaching within 40 miles of this district, he declared that they were not far from habitable land. The natives, who were amazed at the sight of strangers, shut themselves up in their houses, and the merchants, after supplying themselves with water by force, proceeded on their journey.

Zegzeg, Kuar, and Bornou, which lie on the S. E., are separated from Fezzan, Tibesti, and Bardoa, by the burning deserts of Bardoa and Bikma, or Bulma, where the yellow breath of the simoom quickly terminates both animal and vegetable life, where the traveller only hears the howling of the wind, that breaks the dreadful repose of the desert, and scatters over his path the dead bodies of birds, which it brings from happier regions. Zegzeg, unknown to the moderns, is placed, from Edrisi and Leo, in N. Lat.  $21^{\circ}$ , in the same parallel with Germa in Fezzan. In the time of Leo, it was the capital of a kingdom subdued by Izchia king of Tombuctoo; the territo-

ries of which, composed of plains and mountains, were extremely fertile and well watered. At that period, the inhabitants were a rich and trading people. Kuar, or Kavar, lies on the north of Bornou and Kuku, extending eastward to Al-Wahat, the Alguechet of Leo, the western province of Upper Egypt. Its principal cities are Mederam Isa, Izer, and Tamalma, which is situated 12 journeys from Matthan the capital of Bornou.

The extensive empire of Bornou occupies the intermediate space between Nubia and Cassina, Fezzan and Senaar. The Mahometans of Senaar number it among the four most powerful monarchies of the world: the other three are Turkey, Persia, and Abyssinia. The sovereign of Bornou is more powerful than the emperor of Marocco; and no less than 30 languages are spoken in his dominions. Bornou is the Kanem of Edrisi; it is termed Bornou by the natives, but by the Arabs, who believe that the ark of Noah rested upon its mountains after the deluge, Bernou, or Bernoa, *the land of Noah*. Matthan, or Matsan, the capital of Bornou is situated in N. Lat.  $24^{\circ} 32'$ , and E. Long.  $22^{\circ} 57'$ , 660 G. miles from Mourzouk, and 524 miles west from Dongola on the Nile. Angimi, or Gimi, is mentioned as one of its cities, on the side of Nubia, 8 journeys from Matthan, and Kanem, as the capital of a province, on the north-west towards Fezzan. The powerful Arabian tribes of Booash and Duhassin oc-

cupy the desarts to the north-west of Bornou, collect the dates which grow on the most fertile spots, and sometimes engage in the transportation of merchandize. The general appearance of the country is level and flat. The soil is fertile, though frequently interrupted by stripes of sandy desert, and produces rice, maize, beans, cotton, hemp, and indigo, in abundance. Few dates grow in Bornou; but grapes, apricots, pomegranates, lemons, limes, and melons, abound. Among the native productions of the soil, is the *Kedeynah*, which, in form and height, resembles the olive, and the lemon in its leaf. It produces a nut, of which the kernel is highly esteemed as a fruit, and an oil is extracted from the shell, which is employed as a substitute for the oil of olives. Domestic animals are the sheep, the goat, the camel, the horse, the buffaloe, and horned cattle. Bees are numerous. The wild animals are the lion, leopard, wolf, fox, wild-dog, civet-cat, elephant, crocodile, hippopotamus, and Giraffe.

In the cities of Bornou, the houses are built with stone and clay, but not disposed in a very regular order. Matthan, the capital, which is larger than Tripoli, is surrounded by a ditch and strong wall, 14 feet in height. The natives of Bornou are reported to be hospitable and humane. They divide the labours of the field with the women, and their principal amusements are represented to be draughts and chess. The religion of the

sovereign and of the predominating tribe, is Mahometanism, but the majority of the people adhere to the superstitions of their fathers. The king is elected by three of the principal chiefs, but, as in Cassina, their choice is restricted to the royal family. As soon as they have fixed their choice, they conduct the new sovereign in silence, to the corpse of his unburied predecessor, and pointing out, in forcible language, the virtues and defects which marked his character, they thus conclude, " You see before you the end of your mortal career :—The eternal, which succeeds to it, will be miserable or happy, in proportion as your reign shall prove a blessing or a curse to your people." This practice has some resemblance to the ancient tribunal of the dead in Egypt. The military force of Bornou consists of cavalry, armed with the sabre, the pike, and the bow. Fire-arms are not entirely unknown, but too difficult to be procured. When the sultan takes the field, he causes a date tree to be placed on the threshold of one of the gates of his capital, and ordering his horsemen to enter the city one by one, determines the levy to be complete, when the tree is worn through the middle. The articles of commerce exported from Bornou, are gold-dust, slaves, horses, salt, and civet. The complexion of the natives of Bornou is black, but their features are different from those of the Negroes.

Zanfara lies between Bornou and Cassina, Zegreg, and Wangara, about 50 journeys from Tombuctoo. Leo describes the country as extremely fertile, and the people as rude, with the Negro complexion and features. In the last century, it was a considerable emporium of the gold trade.

Wangara, the Guangara of Leo, and Vancara of Edrisi, was also famous for its gold trade in former times, and in the last century was frequently mentioned by the Negro traders to the French at Galam. The Arabs term it Belad al Tebr, the country of gold, which is said, by Edrisi and Ibn al Wardi, to be found in the sand after the periodical inundations. Leo asserts that it is found in the southern part, which appears to be bounded by the range of the Kong mountains. A part of the gold of Wangara is carried in traffic to the gold coast. It is bounded on the W. and N. W. by Melli and Cassina, and on the E. and S. E. by Zanfara and Bornou. Wangara is said, by Edrisi and Ibn al Wardi, to be 300 Arabic miles, ( $56\frac{1}{2}$  to a degree) in length, and 150 in breadth. It is an alluvial district, environed and intersected by branches of the Niger, which annually inundate the country, and the adjoining district of Ghana, in the same manner as the waters of the Nile inundate lower Egypt. Edrisi mentions three large fresh water lakes in Wangara, and one in Ghana, Ghinny, or Guinea, which are probably the receptacles of the waters

of the Niger during the dry season, where they are dissipated by evaporation. The great extent of these permanent lakes, and especially of the country covered with the periodical inundation, seems to have given rise to the idea of a Mediterranean sea of prodigious extent in the middle of Africa ; to prove the existence of which, both Mr Beaufoy and Mr Matra have produced many concurrent testimonies of the Moorish traders. About the time of Leo, the king of Wangara, maintained a constant guard of 7000 archers, and 500 cavalry ; and the country was harrassed, on the one side, by the arms of Tombuctoo, and by those of Bornou, on the other. The principal positions in Wangara, mentioned by Edrisi, are Ghanara, eleven journeys to the S. E. of Ghanara, Reghebil, 11 journeys E. of Ghanara ; Sekzmara (perhaps the Meczara of the black traders on the gold coast) 18 journeys E. of Ghana, and 6 N. of Reghebil ; Semegonda, 8 journeys E. by S. of Sekmara, and 9 from Reghebil. Ten journeys to the E. of Semegonda, lies Kauga ; which is likewise asserted by Edrisi to communicate with the Guin or Niger. Thus the Niger, after having passed Houssa 700 miles to the east of its source above Manding, flows by Sala, Tocrur, and Berissa, to Ghana, which is 500 miles to the E. of Houssa ; and, after inundating Wangara, passes on to Kauga, 660 miles to the

E. of Ghana, accomplishing a course of 1860 miles. Wangara may be reckoned the Panagra of Ptolemy, and its permanent lakes, his Libya Palus. The Nuba Palus will then denote the lake of Kauga, which receives the rivers which descend from the S. E., E., and N. E., among which are the river of Kuku, and the Wad-al-Gazel of Bornou, the Gir of Ptolemy. The Meczara of Edrisi \*, or rather Maczarat al Soudan, the habitation or country of the Negroes, which includes both Tocrur and the isle of Ulil, seems only a general epithet by which the country of the blacks is denominated, like Belad al Abiad, or Belad al Soudan. Ulil, the Oulili of Ibn al Wardi, by whom it is mentioned as the capital of Soudan, conjectured to be Walet, the capital of Beeroo, by Rennel, is more probably included in Wangara, or in the alluvial province of Ghana. It is evidently the Havila or Ha-uila, in the land of Ghana,

\* Edrisi (Abou Abdallah Mahomet) composed his Geography in Sicily, in 1153, as the description of a large terrestrial globe, made for Roger, king of Sicily and Calabria, whence the work is often termed *The Book of Roger*. He is termed the Nubian Geographer, because he was best acquainted with the east of Africa, and the regions in the vicinity of Nubia. He adopts the Ptolemaic arrangement of the seven climates. The Nubian Geography, translated and published by the Maronites in 1619, is only an abridgement of the original work, printed at Rome, in Arabic. The last edition is the valuable one of Hartmann, *Gottinge* 1796, 8vo.

of Benjamin of Tudela \*, the most accurate of the Rabbinical travellers. Benjamin passed, by a journey of 12 days, from Assuan, or Syene, to Halavan, and thence he relates, that the caravans proceeded, by a journey of 50 days, through the Sahara to Zuila, which is the name of an ancient city of Fezzan. The period of the journey of the Fezzan caravan, which trades to Egypt, corresponds nearly to that of Benjamin; but when that author identifies Zu-ila and Ha-uilah, he had either been misinformed, or he has misunderstood the relation of the caravan-traders. The two names seem rather to be opposed to each other, and, like the significant appellations of savage tribes, are probably descriptive of relative position. Of the same kind are probably WANGARA and AZGARA, the latter of which is often used by the Arabs, as a general term to denote the deserts overgrown with green thorny shrubs. Similar significant names are Senhaga and Azaga, the

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\* Benjamin of Tudela, a learned Rabbin, departing from Navarre in 1160, travelled over Europe, Asia, and Africa, chiefly with the design of ascertaining the actual situation of the Jews, and demonstrating that the sceptre had not departed from their race, as was alledged by the Christians, in their disputations with the Jews. In his Itinerary, he blends, without discrimination, the results of observation, enquiry, and popular report, with the legends and figments of the Jews, without informing us, like Herodotus, what he saw, and what he heard. He died in 1173, after his return.



names of two Moorish tribes ; Sus-al-adna, and Sus-al-acsa, the hither and the farther Sus, districts of Marocco. The Rabbins seem to understand by the GUIN or Niger, the GIHON or Giun of Moses.

Guber, which lies to the W. of Begarmee, and borders on Wangara, on the S., seems in the time of Leo to have comprehended a part of the territories of Wangara, as he mentions its annual inundation by the Niger. It was famous at that time for its artificers and its manufactures of cloth and buskins. It was conquered by Tombuctoo. Kororofa, which is entirely unknown, is placed on the S. E. of Guber, according to Mr Beaufoy's MSS.

Begarmee, the Begama of Edrisi, Gorania of Leo, and Gorham of D'Anville, lies about 20 journeys to the S. E. of Bornou, from which it is separated by several small desarts. The inhabitants of this extensive kingdom are rigid Mahometans. Though their complexion is black, their features are dissimilar to those of the Negroes. They are probably the descendents of the ancient Garamantes. Begarmee is 15 days journey in length, from N. to S., and 12 in breadth from E. to W. Its troops are numerous, and fight on horseback.

Bergoo, which lies to the E. of Begarmee, and borders on Darfoor on the S. E., is reckoned a more powerful kingdom than Begarmee, and ex-

tends 20 journeys from N. to S., and 15 from E. to W. The capital of Bergoo is termed Wara. The inhabitants are rigid Mahometans, and have a mortal aversion to Christians. One journey from Wara, lie eight large mountains, the inhabitants of each of which speak a different language; their religion is Mahometan; they are brave warriors, and increase the armies of Bergoo. The natives of Bergoo lay waste the countries on which they make war, by sudden incursions, and never proceed to the field accompanied by their women, like the inhabitants of Darfoor and other states. Bergoo is surrounded by various distinct tribes of Mahometans and Pagans, that are sometimes independent, and sometimes vary their allegiance with the fluctuations of power among their more powerful neighbours. Some of these Pagan tribes are represented as formidable warriors, who never retreat from the combat. They fight with poisoned arrows, and ignited spears, which the women heat to redness in fires, which they kindle behind the warriors; and with these they supply them, as their weapons cool.

Darfoor, which signifies the kingdom of Foor or Fûr, as it is written by Browne, the only European traveller who has visited the country, lies to the S. E. of Bergoo, and is bounded on the E. by Kordofan. The country is of considerable extent, and in many places covered with wood. During the dry season, the appearance of the o-

pen country is sterile and barren, but when the rains commence, the dry sandy soil is soon changed into green fields covered with luxuriant vegetation. Considerable quantities of maize, sesame, beans, and legumens, are raised by the inhabitants for food. There are several species of trees in Darfoor, but the tamarind alone is valuable for its fruit, or rises to a considerable size. The date, which is diminutive, does not appear to be indigenous. Domestic animals are, the camel, the sheep, the goat, and horned cattle, which are numerous. Of the milk of the cow, some of the inhabitants make a kind of cheese, but the process is not generally known. The camel is of an inferior quality; and the horse and the ass are imported from Egypt and Nubia. Their wild animals are, the lion, the leopard, the hyæna, the wolf, and the wild buffalo. The *termites*, or white ant, abounds; and the cochineal insect is frequently met, though it has never been applied to any useful purpose in Darfoor. The rocks are chiefly composed of grey granite, but in a few places, alabaster and marble are found. Nitre is produced in considerable quantities, fossile salt is found in one district, and sulphur is collected by the pastoral Arabs on the S. and W. The principle towns in Darfoor are, Cobbè, the chief residence of the merchants, situated in N. L.  $14^{\circ} 11'$  long. E. G.  $28^{\circ} 8'$ . It is above 2 miles in length, but extremely narrow, containing nume-

rous trees and vacant spaces within its boundaries. Sweini, which commands the northern road to Darfoor, is situated above 2 journeys to the north of Cobbé. Kourma, a small town, lies 12 or 13 miles to south-west of Cobbé, and Cubcubia, two and an half journeys to the west. Cubcubia commands the western roads, and has a market twice in the week. Cours lies 14 or 15 miles to the north-west of Cobbé; Ril, about 60 miles to the south-east of Cobbé, is situated in a fertile plain, commands the southern and eastern roads, and was formerly the residence of the kings of Darfoor. Gidid, Gellé, and Shoba, are the only other remarkable towns. The villages are numerous, but their population seldom exceeds a few hundred inhabitants. The population of Darfoor is estimated by Browne at 200,000 persons. It consists of the native tribes of Fûr, of a deep black complexion, crisped woolly hair, and features different from those of the Negroes; Arabs of the tribes of Mahmid, Mahrea, Beni Fesara, Beni Gerar, &c. some of whom have settled in the country, while others wander on the frontiers, and are very numerous; and a number of emigrants, from the neighbouring states, particularly Dongola, Mahas, Senaar, and Cordofan. Besides these, Darfoor comprehends the inhabitants of various subordinate districts, that are sometimes dependant on Darfoor, and sometimes on the surrounding nations: as

Dar Rugna, which is generally subject to Bergoo ; Dar Berti, Bégo, or Dageou, between Darfoor and Bergoo, the power of which formerly predominated over the Fûrian tribes ; and Zeghawa, formerly an independent kingdom, that was accustomed to raise a thousand cavalry in war, the inhabitants of which are different in their features from the Negroes. The Zighawese use a different dialect from the Fûrian tribes. Zeghawa lies in N. Lat.  $15^{\circ} 1'$ , and seems to be the Zagua, or Zagara, of Edrisi and Abulfeda, placed 20 journeys to the west of Dongola, and 8 from Matthan in Bornou. Tagua, the capital of a small province, may not improbably be Teaya, or Teghawa, the capital of Atbara, the ancient Meroë, placed by Mr Bruce in N. Lat.  $14^{\circ} 2' 4''$ . Cordofan, a considerable district on the east of Darfoor, lies between that kingdom and Sennaar, and seems to be sometimes independent, and, at other times, subject to the most powerful of its neighbours. Frequent hostilities have produced an inveterate animosity between the natives of Cordofan and Darfoor. The Cordofanese venerate the memory of Aboucalec, one of their governors, who renounced the allegiance of Sennaar, about the time that Mr Bruce returned from Abyssinia. At his death, Cordofan was reduced by Darfoor, but had again rebelled when the latter country was visited by Mr Browne, and had interrupted entirely the eastern route to Darfoor.

The inhabitants of Cordofan are reported to establish connections with strangers, by admitting their intercourse with their female relations, in the same manner as the Abyssinian Galla in Maitsha. The language of Cordofan is Arabic. Ibeit is one of the principal towns. The Arabs and Nubians are distinguished by their olive complexions, expressive features, and short curled black hair, which is not woolly. A tribe of Arabs, on the east of Darfoor, curl their hair in the form of a bushy wig, like the sculptured figures in the ruins of Persepolis. The Dongolese residing in Darfoor, use the dialect of Barabra, the district of the desert which borders on Egypt. The dialect of Arabic, which is vernacular in Darfoor, differs essentially from that spoken in Egypt. The native Furians are more chearful in their dispositions than the Egyptians; but resemble the Moorish tribes in the violence of their passions, their disregard to truth, their inattention to cleanliness, and their inaccurate ideas of property. As the practice of polygamy is established, their intercourse with the other sex is regulated by no attention to delicacy or decency; and the precepts of Islamism are often infringed, by the relations of brother and sister being exchanged for a closer connection. The sex are, however, subjected to less restraint than in many Mahometan countries. The women appear in public unveiled, make bargains in the markets, and converse

with the other sex, without offending their husbands or relations. The most severe labours of the field, and the meanest domestic offices, are performed by the women, who are often seen walking after their husbands, under the pressure of a heavy burden, while these ride before them on their asses, without incumbrance and without concern. Their houses are built of clay, commonly by the hands of their women, and are covered with a flattish roof of thin boards, coated with clay. Salt is the general medium of exchange in Darfoor, but, in some places, small tin rings of arbitrary value, are employed. A caravan passes from Darfoor to Egypt, to traffic in slaves, ivory, gum, camels, &c. ; but this commercial intercourse is not regular, and is frequently interrupted. The Dongolese and Nubian settlers in Darfoor, who had been accustomed to the Egyptian-trade, originally opened the route ; but merchants are frequently interrupted by the Cubba-besh and Bedciat-Arabs ; the last of whom are not supposed to be of Arabic origin. In collecting the harvest, they break the ears of corn leisurely from the stalk, in the same manner as the Negroes of West Africa. At the beginning of the wet season, custom requires that the king and the chief men go out to the field with the cultivators, and engage in the planting of corn. This is practised in other countries of Africa, as Bornou and Sennaar, where the king is always entitled *Baady*,

the peasant, from a similar custom. Herodotus has mentioned a similar practice of the ancient Egyptian kings, and travellers have related, that the same usage is continued by the Chinese monarchs. The king, or, as he is denominated, the Sultan of Darfoor, reigns with absolute authority, and confers the same arbitrary power on his delegates in the provinces. Though the precepts of the Koran are the ostensible rules of decision, in cases of litigation, yet the verdict depends on the will of the judge; and, as none but ecclesiastics dare express their sentiments of his conduct, their opinion is the only check upon his caprice. These judges, however, display considerable ingenuity in developing the most intricate cases that occur in a nation versed in the arts of deceit.

The Sultan's revenues consist in the taxes upon merchandize exported and imported; the annual tribute of live stock from the Arabs, and of corn from the towns and villages, with the amount of fines, forfeitures, and presents. The armies of Darfoor are not numerous, as 4000 troops are reckoned a formidable number; neither are these troops remarkable for skill, courage, or perseverance, though they endure hunger, thirst, and fatigue, with great resolution, and use no other camp equipage, but a light mat adapted to the size of the body. The troops of Darfoor, not actually engaged in war, are reviewed at an annual military festival, termed, *The leathering of the kettle-*



*drum*, when presents are presented to the sovereign by all the principal people of the country, and various superstitious ceremonies are performed, among which are the sacrifice of a young boy and a girl. Various superstitious opinions are blended with the Mahometanism of the Fûrian tribes. The mountaineers sacrifice to the deity of the mountains in order to procure rain. Mahometanism began to prevail in Darfoor, in the reign of Solyman, of the Dageou race, who is supposed by Browne to have lived at some period between 130 and 150 years ago. The Dageou race are reported to have been originally expelled from the vicinity of Tunis, and to have resigned the sceptre to the race of Fûr, after being exhausted by intestine dissensions. At the inauguration of every king, they are said to have kindled a fire, which was preserved burning till his death. At the accession of a sultan, the present Fûrians spread before him various carpets, on which their deceased monarchs used to sit, and from that which obtains the preference, deduce an omen of his future character, which they suppose will resemble its former possessor. The present monarch of Darfoor, ambitious, fond of martial reputation, and eager to possess the gold mines of Sennaar, applied to the Mameluk Beys of Egypt to furnish him with a person acquainted with the construction of artillery; and Achmet Aga, a Zanthiote, departed from Cairo for Darfoor in Nov. 1796, carrying with

him about 50 artificers, and four pieces of brass cannon. The success of this embassy is unknown. The same monarch, soon after the commencement of his reign, sent an embassy to Constantinople with a present of three select eunuchs, and three beautiful female slaves. The Ottoman Emperor, who had never before heard of the Sultan of Darfoor, returned an ornamented sabre, a rich pelisse, and a diamond ring. On the S. W., S., and S. E., Darfoor, Bergoo, and Begarmee, are bounded, and in many places intersected, by Pagan tribes, that inhabit woody and mountainous districts, who sometimes submit to their more powerful neighbours, but more frequently assert their independence. These are chiefly of two descriptions ; of which the one have woolly hair, and exhibit the true features of the Guinea Negro ; while the other are of a reddish colour, among which are the natives of Harraza on the N. of Cordofan, about N. L.  $15^{\circ}$ . and Long. E. G.  $32^{\circ}$ . Tumor-kee lies on the W. of Darfoor. Beyond it lie numerous tribes of independent Negroes, who are frequently invaded by the Begarmeese and the inhabitants of Bergoo and Darfoor, who often proceed 40 journeys to the S. and S. W. to seize the inhabitants, and sell them for slaves. The Begarmeese on horseback attack the Kardee, Serrowah, Showva, Battah and Mulgui tribes, who are represented as idolaters and barbarous cannibals, and, seizing as many captives as possible, drive

them like cattle to Begarmee. If they linger on the road, exhausted with famine and fatigue, one of the horsemen seizes the most feeble, or the oldest, smites off his arm, and uses it as a club to drive the rest along. The Negroes of Gnum-Gnum devour the flesh of their prisoners ; and, stripping the skin from the hands and faces of the slain, after due preparation, wear them in triumph. This seems to be a particular method of scalping. They form their spears of iron, and, after igniting them in the fire, stick them in the trunk of a tree, whose juice is the most deadly poison, where they suffer them to remain till they are crusted with venom.

Darkulla, one of the chief of these Negro states, lies to the S. W. of Darfoor and Bergoo, and is intersected by numerous rivers. The inhabitants are partly negroes, and partly red or copper-coloured. The power of the chief seems to vary with his individual ability, which sometimes unites the small detached tribes, and sometimes is unable to accomplish this object. Their language is nasal, but simple and easy. They worship idols, but are remarkable for punctilious honesty in their transactions, and are much more cleanly than the nations by whom they are surrounded. They pass their rivers in canoes, which are formed from the trunks of large trees. The smallest injuries are punished by condemning to slavery the young relations of the offender. If

the footsteps of a person be observed among the corn of another, or if one person has neglected to execute the commission of another, which he had undertaken, a palaver is held before the chief men, and the son, daughter, nephew, or niece, of the offender, forfeited to him who has sustained the injury. As death is never regarded as a necessary event, whenever a person dies, his death is supposed to have been occasioned by violence or witchcraft, and his neighbours are obliged to drink a species of red water for their justification. These customs, with the feuds and quarrels of rude tribes, supply the slave-markets of Darfoor and Bergoo. The chief article of commerce in Dar Kulla is salt, 12 pounds of which constitute the value of a young male slave, and 15 that of a female. The Pimento tree abounds in this country. In the mountainous district to the south of Darfoor, various kinds of metals are found, and the native tribes are acquainted with the method of extracting both iron and copper from their ores. The copper is of the finest quality, in its pale blue colour resembling that of China, and probably containing a considerable quantity of zinc. The district from which it is brought is termed Fertit, the natives of which exhibit the Negro features and complexion. It lies about 24 journeys to the S. of Cobbie, on the Misselad, a considerable river. The merchants who pass towards the sources of the Bahr Misselad, seldom return till the end of

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two years, and occupy from 150 to 180 days on the route. About eight journeys to the east of the copper-mines of Fertit, lie the sources of the Bahr el Abiad, or Western Nile; termed the *White river*, from the muddy clay colour of its waters, in contra-distinction to the Bahr el Azrac, or *Blue river*, the eastern Nile, whose source was explored by Bruce, which receives its denomination from the deep azure colour of its stream. The country is extremely mountainous, and termed Donga, where the Pagan chief resides. The inhabitants are black, and are sometimes kidnapped by the inhabitants of Bergoo. The river rises from 40 distinct hills, termed Kumri, or the mountains of the moon, from which numerous streams descend, which, uniting in one channel, form the Western Nile. Donga is 30 journeys above Shillûk, which is situated on the eastern bank of the river, opposite to Hellet Allais, on its western bank. It is built of clay, and inhabited by Pagans of great hospitality and fidelity. They are said to wear no cloaths, except bands of long grass which are twisted round them. The houses in Shillûk are built of clay. When these Pagans transport a Mahometan over the river, they generally enquire "who is the master of this river?" The Mahometan replies, "God is the master of it." "No," returns the Pagan, naming his chief, "You must say such a person is the master of it, or you shall not pass."

From this country, which lies about N. L.  $13^{\circ}$ . the Shilluk, emerging in a multitude of canoes, in the year 1504 made a descent upon the countries of the Arabs, whom they defeated in a great battle, and founded Sennaar in N. L.  $13^{\circ} 34' 36''$ . and Long. E. G.  $33^{\circ} 30' 30''$ . At this period they were Pagans, but soon after assumed Mahometanism, on account of its convenience in commerce, and learned to repeat the Mahometan Creed, "There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet," to which all their religion has long been confined. They also assumed the appellation of Fungni, *lords, conquerors, or free citizens*, and denominated Sennaar, *Medinet el Fun* or *Funggi*. The reign of the Shilluk continued in Sennaar, till within a few years, when it was overturned by intestine commotions. The king of Sennaar, like that of Eyeo, ascended the throne upon the express condition, that he should be put to death by his own subjects, whenever it was determined by a council of his chief officers, that the advantage of the state required that he should cease to reign. An officer of his own family, termed the king's executioner, was appointed to kill him with a sword, after his deposition. The eldest son of the king succeeded to the throne, and, at his accession, his brothers were all put to death by the king's executioner. The country around Sennaar is extremely beautiful in the wet season. It exhibits an immense

expanse of green level land, intersected with considerable lakes and rivers, among which the conical tops of the houses appear like tents, grouped at intervals. But when the dry season commences, the grass begins to wither, and the country assumes a yellow hue, the lakes putrify and swarm with vermin, and the desert returns, with its poisonous blasts, and pillars of burning sand glowing in the vertical sun. The plains are inhabited by the Shillûk tribes, and the mountains by the Nuba and Guba, who worship the Moon when she shines, by dances and songs, in which they celebrate her brightness. From this custom probably originated the denomination of the hills at the source of the White river, which are termed "the Mountains of the Moon." The Nuba are also said to worship a tree and a stone, which do not exist in Nubia, but in their original country. These Shillûk and Nuba may not improbably be of the same race with the Shellu and mountaineers of Barbary. The kingdom of Sennaar extends in a northern direction to Upper Egypt, and on the S. is separated from Abyssinia by a nation of woolly-haired blacks, termed Shangalla, on the E., and Ganjar on the W. of the Abyssinian province of Ras el Feel. The country of these Blacks is woody, and, in every part, about 60 miles in breadth. It skirts Abyssinia on the N.W. and N.E. and is denominated *Kolla, the hot country*, which seems to be the same denomi-

nation with *Dar Kulla*, which has been already mentioned. The Shangalla are all shepherds and hunters, and possess remarkable strength and activity of body. Their stature is gigantic. They are extremely fond of music and poetry, and from this nation come the chief minstrels of the Arabs and Abyssinians. The interior of Africa exhibits, in the 18th century, the same appearance it presented at the commencement of the earliest historical records. The names of nations and countries alone vary, but the same ferocity of character, the same barbarous manners, and the same superstitious habits, by which the interior Africans were originally characterized, still maintain their influence. The opinions, manners, and customs of the modern Africans, are capable of being applied with great advantage, in elucidating the early history of mankind; and, when these shall have passed away, it will be difficult for succeeding generations to believe that they ever existed\*.

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\* Park's Travels; Rennel's Geogr. Illustrations; Proceedings of the African Association; Leo Africanus; Barbot's Guinea; Norris's Account of Dahomy; Dalzel's History of Dahomy; Browne's Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria; Bruce's Travels; Ludolf's Ethiop. Hist. and Supplem.; Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia; Pliny; Ptolemy; Abulfeda; Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudelah.



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## CHAP. XIV.

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TRAVELS OF MR BROWNE—TO SIWAH—OBSERVATIONS ON  
THE COPTS—JOURNEY TO DARFOOR, AND RESIDENCE IN  
THAT COUNTRY—ACCOUNT OF MR HORNEMANN.

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**W**HILE Mr Park, with much intrepidity and perseverance, was attempting to explore Western Africa, according to the plan of the African Association ; a private traveller, Mr W. G. Browne, urged by curiosity, and the spirit of adventure, endeavoured to traverse that continent from E. to W. and penetrated into Darfoor, the name of which had been mentioned to Ledyard, but which was entirely unknown to Europeans. Mr Browne arrived at Alexandria, in Egypt, on the 10th of January 1792, where, after making the necessary enquiries concerning the adjacent country, he resolved to attempt the discovery of the ruins of the far-famed temple of Jupiter Ammon. Having procured an interpreter, and trading Arabs, acquainted with the route, to convey his baggage and provisions, and secure him from the depredations of the nomade tribes of Bedouins or Muggrebins, on Feb. 24. 1792, he left Alexandria at an

hour which his conductors reckoned auspicious, and travelled along the road nearest the sea, in the route of Alexander, when he visited the temple of Ammonia. The coast, which is rocky in the vicinity of Alexandria, becomes gradually level, and the smooth sandy soil is diversified with green fields of grasswort, or *kali*, interspersed with thorny plants, on which the camels browse, and to which an immense number of snails are attached, that are devoured by the Arabs. There the jerboa, the tortoise, the lizard, and different kinds of serpents, are sometimes met; the birds are chiefly marine; wild rabbits are found near the springs, and the traces of the antelope and ostrich are frequently discerned. They passed near the lake Mareotis, which is dry, and encountered some parties of Bedouins, who were kind and hospitable. On the 4th of March they reached the wells of Al Bareton, the Parætonium of the ancients, about 200 miles from Alexandria, which they accomplished by travelling  $75\frac{1}{2}$  hours. Deserting the coast, they proceeded in a S. W. direction, over a barren tract of rocks and sand, where talc was frequently found, to Karet-am-el-Sogheir, an independent village, the buildings of which are of clay, and the people poor and squalid, nothing but dates being produced in the adjacent country. Here they arrived on the 7th, and, after traversing a similar expanse of barren rocks and sand, where the surface of the ground was

often covered with salt, on the 9th they reached Siwah. Siwah, the Siropum of Rennell, and Mareotis of D'Anville, which lies in N. L.  $29^{\circ} 12'$ . and E. long.  $44^{\circ} 54'$ . is situated in an Oasis, about 6 miles long, and 5 broad, a great part of which is filled with date trees, and likewise produces pomegranates, figs, and olives, apricots and plantains. Springs of salt and fresh water are found in abundance; but the latter are generally tepid, and one of them is alternately warm and cold. Wheat is cultivated for the consumption of the natives, as well as rice, which is reddish, different from that of the Delta, but similar to one of the species which is cultivated at Sierra Leona. The Siwese are darker in complexion than the Egyptians, and use a different dialect. Their dress resembles that of the Bedouin Arabs, and their furniture consists chiefly of earthen ware and mats, though the most rich possess vessels of copper. Their domestic animals are the hairy sheep and goats of Egypt, with a few oxen and camels. They live chiefly on half-baked unleavened cakes, paste fried in palm-oil, rice, milk, and dates, and often drink the inebriating liquor of the date-tree. After the rains, the ground is almost covered with salt. The women wear veils. The district is governed by a few elective Sheiks, and is generally distracted by intestine contests, which circumstance, with the paucity of numbers, debilitates the executive power, arms private ven-

geance, and prevents the punishment of crimes. The attendants of Mr Browne caused him to personate a Mameluke ; but, as it was observed that he did not join in public prayers, they were forced to confess that he was a Christian. This explanation equally excited the surprise and resentment of the Siwese, and it was only by the judicious distribution of presents that he was permitted to observe the curiosities of the place. He saw apartments cut in the rock, which resembled the Egyptian catacombs, and observed, about two miles from the town, an ancient building formed of the same species of stone, of which the pyramids are constructed. It was a single apartment, 32 feet long, 15 broad, and 18 high. The exterior of the wall exhibited the vestiges of obliterated sculptures, which, on the exterior, were more perfect, and consisted of three rows of emblematical figures, grouped in the manner of a procession, with the intervening spaces covered with pure hieroglyphical characters. In some places, not only the sculptures but the colours remained. The ruin seemed to be of the same origin with the monuments of Egypt. Isis and Anubis were conspicuous among the figures, and the proportions were those of an Egyptian temple in miniature. By means of his interpreter, Mr Browne enquired for the Santrieh of Edrisi, generally believed to be Ammonia, and placed by that geographer 10 days to the east of Augela, and 9 from the

Mediterranean, a position according with Ptolemy, though not with Strabo, by whom it is placed about 140 miles from the coast. When the Sheiks of Siwah professed their ignorance of any ruins in the supposed direction of Santrich, Mr Browne enquired if they had heard of any ruins on the west or south-west, and one of them answered, that at Araschié there were ruins surrounded by water, which it was impossible to approach, as there were no boats. He then proceeded to detail an enchanted history of the place, and concluded with persuading him to relinquish his search. Having, with much difficulty, procured guides, as the Siwese were determined to oppose his researches, and prevent him from disinterring the treasures of Araschie, he left Siwah on the 12th of March, and proceeded two journeys toward the west, till he arrived at Araschié, near the plain of Gegabib. They found it to be an island, situated in the middle of a small lake of salt-water, without either trees or fresh water in its vicinity. It contained numerous rocks, but nothing appeared that could be determined to be ruins. Eager to obtain complete satisfaction, Mr Browne impelled his horse into the lake, which, entangling itself at the entrance, stumbled and precipitated his rider, and incapacitated him entirely from any farther observation, either on the island or the lake. From Araschié, they advanced three journeys toward the south, to N. Lat.  $28^{\circ} 40'$ , or its vicinity, when

the impertunity of the Arabs, and his own indisposition, forced Mr Browne to return to Alexandria, where he arrived on April 2d 1792, having been rendered incapable of observation during the latter part of his journey, by a fever and dysentery, which obliged him to remain prostrate on a camel. On his journey to Araschié, at the distance of six miles from Siwah, they passed a small temple of the Doric order, and of the most regular proportions, built of calcareous stone, full of marine vestiges. Siwah is 12 journeys from Cairo, 12 from Charjé in Elwah, and 13 or 14 from Derna on the coast.

The following year, Mr Browne made an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate into Abyssinia, and, after reaching Assuan, was forced to return by the disturbances among the Beys of Upper Egypt. He surveyed the ruins of Thebes, and reckons the harpers delineated by Bruce, incorrect pictures. The inhabitants of that district are a ferocious clan, who differ in person from the other Egyptians, and dwell in caves like the ancient Troglodytes. At Kourna, when he requested a guide, a woman asked, "Are you afraid of crocodiles?" and added very laconically, "We are crocodiles." At Isna, he was informed that near that city resided the king of the crocodiles, who is represented with ears, void of a tail, and is said never to do any harm, which is extremely probable. This superstition is similar to that

which the West Indian Negroes entertain with respect to the cayman. During the rest of the season, Mr Browne was employed in acquiring the Arabic, and in visiting various cities of Egypt. He made an excursion to Cossir on the Red Sea, and afterwards proceeded to Sinai by Suez. This residence afforded him an opportunity, not only of acquiring a considerable knowledge of the topography and native productions of Egypt, and of the natron produced in certain lakes near Teranè ;— but of observing the character and manners of the Copts, or native Egyptians. These he describes as an acute and ingenious race, resembling the Arabs in their dusky brown complexion, with dark eyes and hair, without any similarity to the Negro features. Upon minute investigation, he found the Coptic to be extinct as a spoken language, though various words are preserved in Upper Egypt ; but he saw numerous MSS. in this language, and, among the rest, an Arabo-coptic Lexicon. The structure of this language, which has some affinity with the kindred dialects of Arabia, Palestine, Aram, and Chaldea, and the few literary remains which it comprehends, of a nation civilized in the most early periods of history, deserve the investigation of the curious ; but the learned, who have expected to derive, from the study of this language, the explanation of the hieroglyphics, and symbolic characters of ancient Egypt, and of the original elements of writing, have

entertained expectations extremely sanguine, if not absolutely absurd. The Coptic is the language of the most early trading nation mentioned in history, of a nation that has been frequently conquered, and repeatedly colonized by its victorious enemies, and cannot rationally be expected to retain any traces of its primitive simplicity. The Coptic alphabet contains five letters, and its vocabulary a considerable number of words, which are derived from the ancient Egyptian, but the form of the other alphabetical characters, and the greater part of the words in the language, exhibit evident traces of their Grecian origin. Mr Browne thinks that the opinion of Volney, concerning the Negro complexion, and features of the ancient Egyptians, is entirely unsupported by evidence. The features and complexion of the mummies, as far as they can be traced, resemble those of the modern Copts, which are extremely different from those of the Negroes. The harpers and human figures of the Thebaid caverns, display the same characteristic qualities, and the statues of Isis, &c. are of the same description. The countenance of the Sphinx is at present too indistinctly marked, to exhibit the distinctive characters, either of the Copt or the Negro. No valid conclusion, however, can be deduced from emblematical figures, and no person would maintain the existence of a dog-headed nation from the figure of *Latrator Anubis*.



As the causes which had prevented Mr Browne from penetrating into Abyssinia by Nubia, the preceding year, still existed in all their force, and the route of Masouah on the Red Sea, was reckoned impervious to every European, and had been in vain essayed by Robarts, an English traveller, in 1788, he embraced the only alternative which the departure of the Soudan caravan presented, of penetrating into the interior of Africa by the route of Darfoor. The natives of Darfoor in Egypt, are obsequious in their behaviour even towards the Christians of that country, and were always represented as more tolerant to unbelievers than other Mahometans. Mr Browne imagined, therefore, that when he should arrive in that country, the choice of various routes would be in his power, the length of the journey would be compensated by the superior acquaintance which it would enable him to obtain with the peculiar manners of the interior Africans, and the suspicions of the natives would be removed by his favourable reception in one of the interior kingdoms. He believed that it would be equally easy to penetrate into Abyssinia by Cordofan, or to traverse Africa from east to west, by a route which would afford an opportunity of determining various geographical positions, and of observing numerous important facts, both in manners and in commerce. He was informed that the inhabitants of Darfoor extended their *selateas*, or armed expeditions for procuring slaves, above

40 journeys to the south, along the banks of the Bahr-al-Abiad, which he conceived to be the true Nile unexplored by Europeans, and therefore believed, that, by accompanying one of these expeditions, he should not only accomplish this discovery, but traverse at least five degrees of unknown country. With these views, having provided himself at Assiut with five camels, at the price of 13 l. each, he joined the Soudan caravan, and departed from the vicinity of Assiut, on the 28th of May 1793. They journeyed over a sterile mountainous tract, and, on the 31st, arrived at Gebel Ramlie, a rugged mountain of tufa, where, by a steep descent, they entered the desert. From the rock they beheld before them a valley of unbounded extent, covered with rocks and sand, diversified with scattered date-trees, and stunted-bushes. On the second day they reached Elwah, or Al-Wahat, the greater oasis, in which the village of Charjé lies in N. Lat.  $26^{\circ} 25'$ , E. Long.  $29^{\circ} 40'$ , and Mughess, the most southern village in N. Lat.  $25^{\circ} 18'$ , E. Long.  $29^{\circ} 34'$ . This oasis produces almost nothing but dates, for the subsistence of the inhabitants. Here Mr Browne was informed, that the Oasis Parva, termed Elwah-el-Gurbi, lies about 40 miles to the North. The Oasis Parva is said to contain various ruins, and to be a kind of capital of the Muggrebin Arabs, who are numerous in this desert, and, by uniting, might raise an army of 30,000 men. On the 15th of June, they left

Mughess, and, on the 20th, arrived at Sheb, in N. Lat.  $23^{\circ} 35'$ , E. Long.  $30^{\circ} 10'$ , where a considerable quantity of native alum is produced, and the soil presents a reddish stone, and argillaceous earth. From Sheb they advanced to Selime, in N. Lat.  $22^{\circ} 15'$ , E. Long.  $30^{\circ} 15' 30''$ , a small verdant spot at the foot of a ridge of rocks. Here they found a small building of loose stones, concerning which the Jelabs related various fables, asserting that it had been formerly inhabited by a martial princess named Selimé, who was the terror of Nubia. After passing by Leghea, in N. Lat.  $20^{\circ} 10' 30''$ , and the salt spring, Bir el Maha, in N. Lat.  $18^{\circ} 8'$ , E. Long.  $29^{\circ} 4'$ , they arrived at Darfoor on the 23d of July, and lodged in the village of Sweini. Here Mr Browne discovered, that besides the fatigues of the journey, other difficulties remained to be surmounted. The people of the caravan had dispersed, and the natives of Darfoor considered him as an infidel, in whose face the traces of inferiority of species were distinctly marked, and whose colour they regarded as the effect of disease, or as the consequence of the divine displeasure. He had hired a native of Cairo, who had originally been a slave-broker, to manage his money-transactions in Darfoor, where he was informed every species of commerce was conducted by simple exchange. This person, with whom he had quarrelled on the journey, not only robbed him of several valuable articles, but, by the most

consummate treachery, infused suspicions into the mind of the Sultan, prevented him from being admitted to his presence, and procured an order by which he was confined to Cobbè, and forced to lodge in the house of one of the agents in the machination. Here Mr Browne experienced a severe attack of a fever and dysentery, by which he was confined for a considerable time. Immediately after his convalescence, he proceeded to El-Fasher, in order to procure an audience of the king, but was received with the most pointed inattention, as he could seldom procure admission to the levees, and never an opportunity of speaking. The effects he had brought to Darfeor, for commerce and presents, were seized, at an arbitrary valuation, for the use of the Sultan, notwithstanding his remonstrance. A frivolous charge of violating the female slave of the person with whom he lodged at El-Fasher, being commenced against him, and a very considerable compensation claimed by her master, the Sultan was induced to interfere, and take him under his immediate protection, in order to prevent reprisals from being made on the property of his own subjects in Egypt. Mr Browne resided afterwards with the Melek of the Jelabs, or the officer who presides over the foreign merchants, by whom he was treated with kindness and attention. He endeavoured, by the mediation of this officer, to obtain a compensation for his effects which had been seized, and permis-

sion to accompany the armed expeditions for procuring slaves, but was informed that he would certainly perish, either by the jealousy of the depredators whom he accompanied, or the hostility of the tribes on whom they perpetrated these enormities. Renouncing, therefore, this design, he requested permission either to pass into Bergoo, the first Mahometan kingdom on the west, or to Sennaar, through Cordofân; but the Melek suggested, that both these routes were equally impracticable, from the jealousy which subsisted between Bergoo and Darfoor, and the insurrections in Cordofân, and advised him to embrace the first opportunity of returning to Egypt. The journey to Egypt was equally difficult, as the Sultan detained the caravans, while he attempted to negotiate with the Beys of Egypt a monopoly of the Soudan trade. The Melek, however, promised to Mr Browne to exert his influence in order to accomplish some of his plans, but, dying in a few weeks, all hopes from that quarter were frustrated. The Sultan still preserved the same aspect of indifference and inattention; reports were circulated that he intended never to permit Mr Browne's departure from Darfoor, and these seemed to be countenanced by the imperfect compensation of 120 piastres, which he received for the value of 750, the estimated value of the goods that had been seized. He sometimes was permitted to see the Sultan, but seldom to hold any

species of conversation with him. He attended, without effect, at a great public audience, where the Sultan appeared in great magnificence, seated on a splendid throne, while an officer proclaimed from time to time, " See the buffaloe, the off-  
" spring of a buffaloe, the bull of bulls, the ele-  
" phant of superior strength, the powerful Sultan  
" Abd-el-rachmân-el-rashîd. May God preserve  
" thy life ! O master, may God assist thee, and  
" render thee victorious !" These appellations bestowed on the Monarch are similar to the titular epithets claimed by other barbarous princes, and may serve, in some measure, to mark the degree of civilization attained at the Fûrian court. The kings of Mexico were denominated *backers of men*, and *drinkers of blood*. The king of Achem in Sumatra is designated, *Lord of heaven and earth, and of the four and twenty umbrellas, who is as spiritual as a ball is round*. The Emperor of Monomotapa receives the titles of *Great Magician*, and *Great Thief*. During the space of three years that Mr Browne continued in Darfoor, affairs continued in the same situation ; he sometimes acted as a physician ; his Egyptian broker attempted to poison him when he could not accomplish his assassination ; symptoms of violence appeared in the populace ; his resources of subsistence were almost exhausted, and the Sultan's permission to depart from Darfoor could not be procured. Mr Browne had now resource to ar-

trifles, and insinuated to the chief of the caravan, and the principal merchants, the danger of appearing without him in Egypt, alledging that he had been able to dispatch to that country intelligence of his situation in Darfoor. These insinuations had their effect, and, by the solicitations of the intimidated merchants, he was graciously permitted by the Sultan to join the caravan, and arrived at Assint in Egypt in the summer 1796, after an absence of nearly three years. In Darfoor, Mr Browne made numerous enquiries concerning the neighbouring nations and the territories which they inhabited. He collected many curious notices, but often found it extremely difficult to procure any lucid information, either concerning the appearance of the different countries, or the nature of their productions. His informers had often accomplished their journeys in a state of such extreme exhaustion by fatigue, that it approached insensibility, or the intermediate stupor between waking and sleep. He obtained various notices concerning Dar Kulla, Bergoo, Begarmee, and Bornou: Zampara, or Zanfara, was mentioned as a country near Bornou, but he never heard of Wangara. He was informed, that Afaou, a country which borders on the W. of Bornou, abounds so much in silver, that the natives construct their defensive armour of this metal, as well as the corslets of their horses, and their frontlets, which are adorned with the chaffron or horn used in Europe in

the days of chivalry. In Darfoor, Mr Browne met a merchant of Bergoo, who had formerly resided in Sennaar, to which city he had accompanied Mr Bruce from Gondar. He related that Yakûb was in high estimation at the Abyssinian court, where he lived in great splendour, that he cultivated astronomy, and had been appointed governor of Ras el Feel; corroborating in every point the testimony of an Armenian merchant whom Mr Browne met at Suez in 1793. This Armenian had been at Gondar when Mr Bruce resided in that city, where he was always mentioned in terms of praise. He related the story of his shooting the candle through the seven shields, and said that the Abyssinians frequently eat raw flesh. Sonnini mentions, that he met a monk at a Coptic convent in the desert of Nitria, who had visited Abyssinia, at the time when an European was in high favour at the Abyssinian court, and was considered as a man of great consequence. Sonnini adds, that the dates, and other circumstances, determined this traveller to be Bruce, of whose expedition into Abyssinia he had accidentally met with numerous proofs. These authorities, with that of the Abyssinian whom Sir W. Jones saw in Bengal, are certainly sufficient to authenticate the narrative of Bruce in the most important circumstances. Mr Browne mentions that his two informers denied that Bruce



had visited the sources of the Bahr el Azrac; but their evidence is inadmissible, as they did not accompany Bruce in his excursions through the country, but only heard of him where they accidentally resided. At his return to Egypt, Mr Browne was informed by the Coptic Patriarch, that for the space of nine years no intercourse had subsisted between Abyssinia and Egypt, on account of the anarchy which prevailed in Sennaar and Nubia. On the arrival of Mr Browne at Cairo, he determined to return through Syria to Europe, and dispatched a considerable part of his baggage to Alexandria, where it fell into the hands of Bonaparte, and was inconsiderately abandoned by the traveller, who proceeded with some precipitation to Jaffa in a coasting vessel, and, after traversing Syria and Anatolia, reached Constantinople, and returned by Wallachia and Germany to England, where he arrived Sept. 16. 1798, after an absence of almost seven years. By the loss of his baggage at Alexandria, he was deprived of some valuable documents of his journey, among which were various astronomical and geographical details, remarks on natural history, a vocabulary of the Fûrian language, compiled by himself, an itinerary of Eastern Africa, and a register of the Soudân caravans since the year of the Hegira 1150, copied from a book belonging to the Sheik of the slave market in Cairo.

A similar route to that of Mr Browne has been attempted since his departure from Egypt, by Mr HORNEMANN, a young German, who appears to have united in an uncommon degree every quality of mind and body that this hazardous expedition requires in a traveller. Freidric Hornemann, the son of a deceased clergyman, was educated at Göttingen, where he studied divinity. In the summer of 1795, he requested Dr Blumenbach, professor of natural history in that university, to recommend him to the African Association in London; informing him, that it had long been his most sanguine desire to explore the interior of Africa; that he had consulted every authentic source of information on the subject, and directed his studies to this object. From the replies which he gave to various objections stated by the Professor, in order to discover if this resolution was the consequence of mature deliberation, and from the result of the private enquiries instituted with respect to his character, Dr Blumenbach was induced to comply with this desire. In his letter to Sir Joseph Banks, he informed the Association, that, to an excellent constitution, Mr Hornemann united great and respectable literary attainments, and a considerable knowledge of mechanics, both theoretical and practical; that he was patient of fatigue; in his form stout and athletic; in his habits temperate and abstemious; in his disposi-

tion chearful and full of vivacity ; and that, excepting the usual diseases of infancy, he had known sickness only by name. To this letter, Sir Joseph Banks answered, " If Mr Hornemann be really " the person you describe, he is the very identical person whom we are in search of." This reply was communicated to Hornemann, at Hanover, by the Professor, who, to his astonishment, saw him enter his apartment, before he imagined the letter could have reached him ; such expedition had the young adventurer used in travelling from that city on foot. In the course of one night, he formed an excellent plan of his journey, which was immediately dispatched to London for the inspection of the Association. The summer of 1796 was employed in attending the lectures on natural history at Gottingen, and in acquiring Arabic and the other oriental languages. In February 1797, he visited London, and was introduced to the African Association, who unanimously sanctioned his appointment. After a passport had been procured from the French directory, Mr Hornemann proceeded to Paris, where he was introduced to some of the most eminent literary characters of the *Institut National*, who received him with great attention, and zealously promoted his views. M. La Lande presented him at a meeting of the *Institut National*, and furnished him with some copies of his *Memoire de l'Afrique*.

M. de la Roche introduced him to a Turkish gentleman, a native of Tripoli, residing at Paris as a corn-agent, who, besides giving him some important information, recommended him in an Arabic epistle, to one of his friends, a man of some consequence in Cairo, whom he requested to secure him a safe conduct in the caravan, and to introduce him to such Mahometan merchants, who had visited the interior, as were known to be men of integrity and probity. From Paris, Mr Hornemann proceeded to Marseilles, where he embarked in a Cyprus trader, and, after a voyage of 20 days, arrived in August 31st, at Lernica in Cyprus. From Lernica, he passed to the bay of Caroubè, whence he arrived on September 10th. At Alexandria, he resided 10 days in the house of the English consul, the greater part of which was employed in mineralogical researches in its vicinity. In one of the convents, he met, by uncommon good fortune, an aged Monk, a native of Germany, who spoke Arabic more fluently than his native language, and who was going immediately to Cairo, where he intended to reside for some months. In company with this friendly Monk, he proceeded to Cairo to wait for the departure of the Cassina caravan, and arrived on September 27th. In Cairo, he met Major Schwarz, who had traversed the Levant with M. Hope, and, with this gentleman, made an excursion to the pyra-

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mids at Gizé. In a letter to Professor Heeren of Gottingen from Cairo, he informs him, that he had met an Abyssinian bishop in that city, whose father had been intimately acquainted with Bruce. He described this traveller as devoted to astronomical pursuits, indefatigable in his enquiries after the sources of the Nile, to which he at length made a journey ; and added, that he was highly honoured by the king and nobles of Abyssinia. The subsequent progress of Hornemann is entirely unknown ; nor is it probable that any information can reach Europe before the final termination of his journey.

The elucidation of African geography and manners, which has resulted from the recent researches of Europeans, has authenticated numerous facts mentioned by the ancients, and established, on indubitable grounds, various circumstances which formerly rested on dubious authority. The success of the Travels of discovery, has not equalled the sanguine expectations that were originally entertained ; but, when the variety of the dangers to be encountered, and the magnitude of the obstacles to be surmounted, are regarded, must certainly be reckoned very considerable. The colony founded at Sierra Leona, while, by the humanity of the principles upon which it is founded, it claims the approbation of mankind, by the permanency of its establishment, and its political connections with

the native chiefs, must soon facilitate the access of Europeans into the most secluded regions of that vast unexplored continent, which, till the present period, has baffled the researches of the ancients and the moderns. It is not improbable, however, that the French may anticipate their progress, if they should be able to maintain their conquest of Egypt. A short possession of that fertile country will enable them to establish manufactures of its raw produce, and excite a spirit of industry among the natives ; while the security of commerce, so often violated by the Mameluks, must inevitably attract the gold-trade of the interior regions of Africa, which was probably, at the most ancient periods, the principal source of the power of the Egyptians. History demonstrates, that the ancient empire of Egypt began to decline with the aggrandisement of the Carthaginian Republic ; and when the trade of the East was attracted by Phœnicia, and that of the West by Carthage, it quickly sunk into absolute debility. But it is idle to indulge conjecture, concerning facts which a very short period must determine. In the history of ancient nations, whose manners and customs were different from those with which we are acquainted, it is impossible to decide what is improbable ; and, in this modern period of revolutions, it is equally impossible to determine what is probable, or the conjecture might be hazarded, that, before

lapse of another century, the current of civilization, which is believed by many to have originated in Africa, may revert to its supposed source\*.

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\* Browne's Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria; Magazin Encyclopedique; Sonnini's Travels in Egypt; Volney's Travels through Syria and Egypt.



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